



American

NOVEMBER 1958

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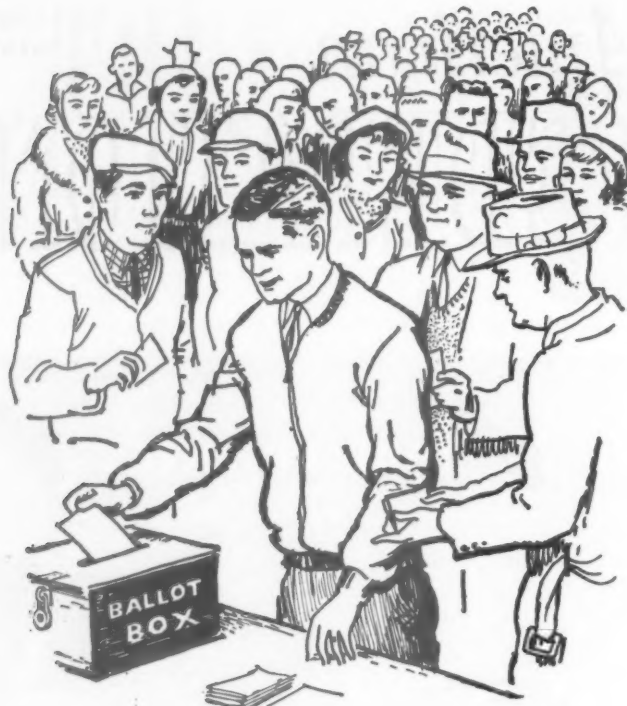
✓ YOUR RIGHT

✓ YOUR PRIVILEGE

✓ YOUR DUTY

VOTE

NOV. 4



LET'S WIN OUR GOALS AT THE POLLS

The opportunity you have been waiting for comes on Election Day. Then you can exercise your precious privilege as a citizen of a free nation and vote for members of Congress who will pass the laws our country needs and refuse to pass laws that are harmful to the many. Are you ready to do your part on November 4? Have you registered? Have you studied the records of the candidates? Have you contributed to COPE?

Election Day is just around the corner. Working people need more friends in the Senate and more friends in the House of Representatives. The way to win those additional friends we need is through intelligent exercise of the power of the ballot.

For your own sake, for America's sake, be sure to do your part as a good citizen on Election Day. Win *your* goals at the polls. Don't fail to VOTE on November 4.



American

FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

NOVEMBER, 1958

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

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Let the Public Know

As a member of the AFL-CIO Committee on Public Relations, I am convinced that we must redouble our efforts to let the public know about ourselves—our aims, our hopes and our accomplishments.

The action of the AFL-CIO in throwing out those who do not meet our ethical standards deserves the publicity it has received, but what about the day-in, day-out sacrifices made by local officers and job stewards to improve the American standard of living and to maintain the dignity on the job of those who work for a living?

The public has absolutely no conception of the real function of a real union. We must let the public know.

We owe it not just to ourselves, but to those thousands of unsung heroes and heroines who made the labor movement what it is today. They fought and many of them died for the rights which many people—even many union people—take for granted today.

A hundred years ago "union" was a dirty word as far as the public was concerned. The atmosphere and the circumstances in which people worked for a living were almost unbelievable, working conditions were impossible—and yet those were the days when the pirate who stole the most could easily become a public figure, a leader in the community.

Those were the days when rival railroad tycoons fought pitched battles for choice railroad properties—and the winner could become a revered citizen. A financial genius was the man who could pile up the most money, regardless of how he operated to get it—and these honored citizens were among those who controlled the courts and the police who mercilessly, ruthlessly killed the labor movement—or tried to kill it—wherever it showed signs of life and strength.

Those early union leaders and members were not daunted. Their strength and their courage and their lives—many of them died in the cause—are the foundations upon which our union is built. We must never forget them, and we must never forget the lessons they teach.

Joseph A. Beirne

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VOTE AS YOU PLEASE

AN EDITORIAL

THE IMPORTANCE of Tuesday, November 4, cannot be overemphasized. It is Election Day—the day on which America determines her political future for the next two years.

But the voters will do more than just decide who will sit in the Senate, the House of Representatives, the State House. They will determine such vital issues as unemployment or prosperity, slums or decent homes, good schools or illiteracy, equal justice or discrimination.

There is virtually no end to the decisions a voter makes for himself, his family, his community, his nation when he marks his ballot or pulls the handle on a voting machine.

And it is because of these decisions and the grave consequences that can befall all of us if these decisions are made for fanciful or foolish reasons that the trade union movement of the United States has historically taken its place in the political arena.

Our entry, of course, was forced upon us by our enemies who, when they couldn't defeat organized labor on the picket line or at the bargaining table, sought to undermine our gains through restrictive legislation.

But labor's interest in politics is not just self-defense, important as that is. The union's responsibility to its members does not end when the daily quitting whistle blows.

Labor's responsibility is to build a better and a stronger country, not only for those who belong to a union, but for all of us. Labor's interest has no boundary except the good of our beloved nation.

That is why labor campaigns for better



A visit to the polling place is our duty on November 4.

Jobs for the idle depend on the way we use our ballots.



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BUT PLEASE VOTE

BY GEORGE MEANY



schools; for decent legislation that will improve the lot of our elder citizens; for homes that are clean and decent; for taxation that is fair and equitable; for labor-management laws that protect the workers' right to organize and bargain collectively; for protection of unions against the corrupt hands of hoodlums and racketeers.

Such public welfare legislation can only become law when our legislators are men of good will and of progressive mind, who place the welfare of the people before the whim of selfish interests.

The trade unions of the United States have a duty to their members, and a greater duty to their country, to advise every member, factually and honestly, on the issues in the election, the position of the candidates and their record of public service.

Certainly, trade union members should not vote on the basis of a politician's self-serving statements, or his cleverly contrived propaganda, or without relating his promises to his record of performance. To do so would be to vote in a vacuum.

So the AFL-CIO and its constituent unions, operating through the Committees on Political Education in every city and state, have weighed the candidates, the records and the promises (both kept and broken), and have arrived at a balance sheet—the candidates that workers should support in this vital election of 1958.

Recommendations by the appropriate city and state bodies are well known to union members. Labor has already performed this duty.

We have one more duty to perform before this campaign is history. It is to get out a record vote on Election Day. That we are determined to do as our patriotic duty.

Before Election Day, however, workers can, as a matter of course, expect an attack upon labor's political activity from big business and big business candidates. It will be a campaign of slander, charging that labor is trying to control the votes of its members.

That is an outright falsehood.

Labor controls no votes. It wants to control none. It should control none.

Every union member who goes into a polling place is alone with his conscience. Only he and his God know how he votes, and that is as it should be.

No union official, no company boss, no politician or policeman or political commissar must ever be allowed to disturb that sacred right so fundamental in a free society.

And the AFL-CIO, which firmly believes in this right, will religiously protect individual members in the free use of their voting franchise—the hallmark of citizenry in a land of freedom.

On behalf of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, I urge every trade union member in the United States to:

Study the issues and the voting records.

Then vote according to the dictates of their own conscience.

To each of them I say: Vote as you please, but please vote.



Labor's campaign against shackles has had the help of breadwinners' wives and daughters.

WE MUST WIN THE FIGHT AGAINST DESTRUCTION OF UNIONS

ENLIGHTENED citizens of six states are expected to vote against misnamed "right to work" proposals which will be placed before them on November 4. The basic purpose of "right to work" legislation is to weaken unions to the point where they lose the capacity to protect working people against the kind of ruthless exploitation that prevailed in the early years of this century.

The six states where the enemies of labor are striving to outlaw the union shop are California, Ohio, Kansas, Colorado, Idaho and Washington. Eighteen other states—most of them in the South—already have anti-union "wreck" laws in effect.

Through the collective bargaining process, wage-earners' organizations and employers have voluntarily written union security clauses into thousands of contracts. Under "right to work" the right of management and labor to agree upon such provisions is abolished. "Right to work" injects state interference into the field of collective bargaining.

In a recent speech AFL-CIO President George Meany said:

"The campaign for this so-called 'right to work' law—the campaign that is being waged on a nationwide basis—is a campaign of deceitful propaganda, a campaign of fraud. It seems to be the idea that if you tell the big lie and tell it often enough, sooner or later the people will believe it."

He emphasized that laws establishing the compulsory open shop do not enhance the rights of workers in any way, despite the claims of "right to work" advocates that their scheme is beneficial to wage-earners. Mr. Meany pointed out that "right to work" legislation creates no new jobs and does not "restore one single laid-off worker to his job."

Eleanor Roosevelt wrote recently that "right to work" laws are "simply a political maneuver of employers" to gain power over wage-earners. "Right to work" has also been denounced by Charles P. Taft, a leading Republican and a vice-president

of the National Council of Churches.

Long ago Clarence Darrow dealt with the issue. He said:

"In reality the open shop only means the open door, through which the union man goes out and the non-union man comes in to take his place. The open shop furnishes, and always furnished, the best possible means of destroying the organization of the men."

If you live in California, Ohio, Washington, Idaho, Colorado or Kansas, get busy spreading the truth about the falsely labeled "right to work" proposals and urge the people you know to vote against the weakening of unionism. Point out to them that when unions are deprived of the ability to protect their members, wages fall sharply—and history records that reduced purchasing power in the hands of working people soon wrecks the prosperity of all people, merchants, farmers and professionals as well as wage-earners.

To keep our country sound, we must defeat RTW on November 4.

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Research Serves Labor

By **WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER**
Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO

AS THE relationships of unions to management, government and the public have assumed new meaning in American life, union research has adapted to changing requirements. The extension of collective bargaining into new and more complex areas, expansion of the scope of union activities and the growth of the trade union movement itself have shaped the pattern of union research.

Neither ivory-tower pursuit of abstractions nor mere collection of statistics is the business of the modern research department. Geared to the everyday life of a union, research is flexible and practical, constantly adapting to the needs of the organization served. Facts and figures, the raw material of research, are collected, sifted and interpreted. Analyses of economic trends—both national and for specific situations—are prepared. The work of the research staff is related to every aspect of the modern union.

Because unions differ—in size, structure and collective bargaining relationships—every research department is unique. Responsibilities and contributions are as different and as similar as the unions themselves. A small union, with only a single staff member assigned to research, obviously cannot attempt the varied research services of a larger union. The latter may have several departments assigned to specialized, technical responsibilities as well as a large research department.

Despite these differences, union research activities have a common purpose: meeting the organization's practical need for factual, technical and analytical material. Although the methods of carrying out this purpose vary, it is possible to put together a composite picture to show the role of research in the American labor movement.

Information Centers

Basically, union research departments are information centers. Facts



WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER

and figures must be gathered for ready use both by the department itself and for all other branches of the union. What kind of information? Whatever is needed both for day-to-day work and for long-range planning.

Information for bargaining is essential—provisions of contracts, wage and fringe benefits; the organization of the industry, work force, production, prices, sales and technological and economic trends affecting the union. Statistics on wages, prices and profits are obvious necessities. But other data must also be available on a wide range of activities—current events, management activities, information about other unions, international affairs, agriculture and even various types of information which might seem not immediately related to specific union problems. The officers and staff of the union need to use these facts and a research department may supply answers to spot requests from members.

To assemble this information, researchers use a variety of sources—newspapers, union publications, trade or business magazines, financial reports, government releases and analyses published by public or private agencies.

But information must also be gathered from within the union—from locals, councils, regions or districts—so that a total picture of comparative information on the sections of the union and agreements with employers can be made available.

Consider, for example, one large union which has almost 8,000 agreements with approximately 14,000 firms in 275 separate industries, with membership spread in different proportions throughout the United States and Canada. Recording significant facts and making them readily accessible is a job of large proportions. Some unions use punch-card systems to codify contract information of all types.

The importance of the information center depends on how it is used. Some research departments mostly answer on-the-spot requests. Others issue regular reports, publish fact sheets, loose-leaf services or provide material for the regular publications of their unions.

The information center is the source of both factual data and interpretation for policy decisions of the union. Intelligent research makes a major contribution to policy-making. Decisions can be backed by a firm foundation of facts and analyses rather than guesswork or supposition.

As one director of research has explained, "the ultimate test of the research department's value lies in its ability to prepare material for specific situations, growing out of the day-to-day life of the union."

Examining the scope of these specific situations makes it possible to draw a composite picture of what union research means.

Collective Bargaining

Although the negotiations themselves differ from union to union and industry to industry, every union needs research services in collective bargaining. Whether local unions bargain on their own or the international centralizes the bargaining, to-

day's negotiations require detailed information.

More and more, modern management comes to the bargaining table with expert assistants—statisticians, economists and other trained personnel. The give-and-take of negotiations often demands that the union have equally qualified technicians on its side. Facts must be interpreted; statistics must be analyzed. Company experts cannot be shrugged aside by uninformed judgment. Union research staffs can make meaningful contributions to these exchanges which are the heart of today's labor-management relations.

In some unions, researchers participate in every phase of collective bargaining, from the original fact-gathering to the actual negotiation of the contract. They analyze contract clauses, compare them with current practices and desirable objectives and help to plan the strategy of obtaining these provisions.

Profits, sales and other financial data, comparable gains of other unions or locals, changes in an industry's economic status, productivity increases—all are put down on paper with specific purpose.

One union has as many as 400 financial reports prepared annually. These measure company profits in terms of investments and as a percentage of the sales dollar. They review dividend practices, tax payments, amortization and depreciation, unit and gross labor costs, management remuneration and the com-

pany's general position in the industry. While practices vary, this kind of work is typical of the modern research department.

When the policy of union demands has been decided, researchers follow through on the next step of bargaining: preparing the union's case. Documentary evidence must substantiate demands and show clearly and effectively the ability of the company to grant them. Analyses of wages, profits, dividends, sales, productivity, etc., as well as the cost of living and national economic conditions are set forth. Reinterpretations of the company's argument, explanations of the company's use of statistics and rebuttal to the company point of view must be prepared.

The positive nature of the union's case must be emphasized. The justice of demands, the need for proposed changes must be stated in a way that will convince not only management experts and officials.

More and more, unions also present to the public the reasons for proposals and illustrate the public's stake in successful results of negotiations. When a corporation releases statistics and arguments for its point of view, the union must be ready to prove its case. Research departments help in the preparation of material for this purpose.

Sometimes union researchers accompany negotiators to the bargaining table, either to participate directly or to contribute statistical data or technical assistance as needed. In

some unions, research staffs negotiate many of the contracts.

Whether or not researchers participate in the actual bargaining process, they must always be ready to provide information to the negotiators. Comparisons of contract provisions, analyses of contract clauses, wage rate variations between locals in an international union are provided by research departments.

Where locals bargain individually, the research department may be a clearing house for contract information. In a large union, with different types of contracts, records of provisions are kept up to date for ready reference. The information center is used extensively as the source of this comparative information and analyses.

Research staffs of some unions also help to "police" contracts at the international level—checking each agreement to make sure that it meets the standards set by the international. In other instances "sample" contracts are provided by the research staff.

Some research departments prepare manuals for the use of negotiators on technical matters, such as job evaluation, supplemental unemployment benefits, pensions, insurance. Researchers participate in and sometimes direct conferences held for local representatives to help them prepare for negotiations in areas requiring technical knowledge.

Especially for new types of companies, such as atomic energy installations, (Continued on Page 28)

Problems of union research are aired at conferences called by the AFL-CIO's Department of Research.



Our New Social Security

By KATHERINE ELLICKSON

*Assistant Director,
AFL-CIO Social Security Department*

A DRAMATIC chapter was added to the history of social security in the last weeks of Congress. Higher payments are therefore available to millions of families, and this notable triumph of liberal forces promises more substantial gains in the years ahead.

National Insurance Program

The nine out of ten Americans covered by old-age, survivors and disability insurance now have considerable additional protection. Twelve million persons on the benefit rolls will receive an average 7 per cent increase in monthly payments. People with annual earnings above \$4200 a year will be entitled to benefits more closely related to those earnings. And victims of severe, long-term disability will suffer less income loss.

The financing of the program is strengthened to permit these and many other improvements too numerous even to be listed. Contributions of employees and employers will be increased by $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on earnings up to \$4800 a year, and the self-employed will pay $\frac{3}{8}$ per cent more on net income.

The additional revenues to the trust fund which are thus provided fully answer any questions as to the financial soundness of old-age and survivors insurance.

The social security actuary estimates that the OASI trust fund will start growing again in 1960, after a slight decline to \$21 billion, and will continue rising substantially for many decades. Insofar as the new contribution rates prove more than adequate, benefits can be further liberalized without additional tax increases.

The Welfare Programs

The sections of the Social Security Act dealing with public assistance were also improved in many ways. The federal government is making more generous matching funds availa-

ble to the states to encourage them to increase their assistance payments to the needy aged, the blind, dependent children and their caretakers, and the permanently and totally disabled.

The new federal grants are estimated to average \$3 a month more for the six million persons receiving aid. More liberal federal matching amounts are available for the low-income states than for those with high incomes so that levels of assistance may be more balanced throughout the nation.

A number of improvements were also made in the maternal and child welfare provisions of the Social Security Act. Five million dollars were added to the amounts authorized for annual appropriations for each of the three programs which foster state and local activities. The changes will help extend clinics for mothers, babies and crippled children, and strengthen many other services that promote the normal and healthy development of the nation's children.

Toward Health Benefits

An important step was taken in connection with the proposal of the Forand bill that the cost of hospital,

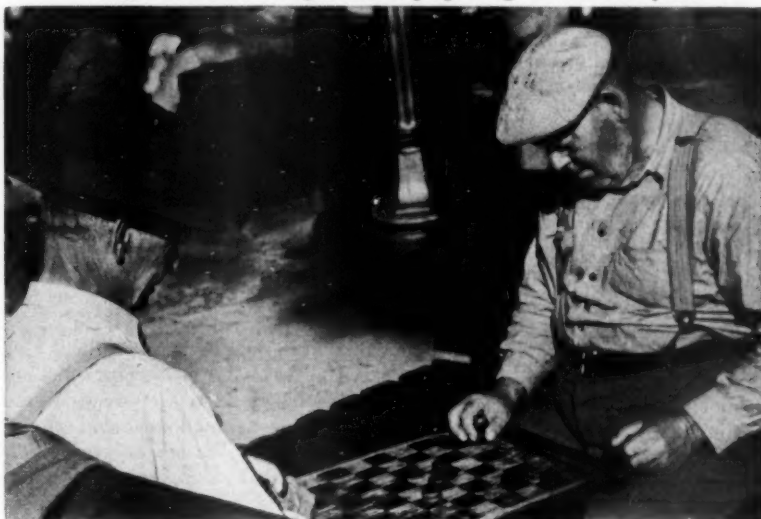


KATHERINE ELLICKSON

nursing home and surgical care should be paid for OASI beneficiaries. The House Ways and Means Committee has asked the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to report by February 1 on alternative ways of protecting beneficiaries against the cost of needed hospital and nursing home care.

Congressman Forand has indicated that he favors having a subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee study the whole problem. So undoubtedly health benefits will continue to be a live issue in 1959.

Changes in the law will give retired people larger checks next year.



The Story in Congress

Although the 1958 amendments include noteworthy improvements, they fall short of the immediate and long-range goals of the AFL-CIO as outlined in convention resolutions and Executive Council statements. However, since we obtained this much in the unfavorable situation existing this year, a more promising political setting should result in further progress toward well-rounded and adequate programs.

When the House started hearings in June, we were not sure any bill could be passed. The AFL-CIO had allies in seeking broad improvements, including the American Public Welfare Association, the National Farmers Union and the American Nurses Association, to name only a few.

Such support was encouraging, but was it enough? Marion Folsom, then Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, told the House Ways and Means Committee that he was not "in favor of an across-the-board increase now." The Chambers of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the insurance companies were against any improvements. The American Medical Association argued against even social security coverage for doctors, opposed the health benefits and said nothing about increases in cash payments.

The Eisenhower Administration was also strongly opposed to increasing federal grants for public assistance. The threat of a veto was repeatedly wielded in the House and Senate deliberations. As a result the House Committee recommended a 7 per cent increase in OASDI benefits instead of the 10 per cent that many Democrats and some Republicans favored. When the House had overwhelmingly passed a bill, the Administration withdrew its opposition to the insurance provisions but continued to threaten a veto if the public assistance grants were not reduced.

To avoid a veto, the Senate cut the increase in grants from \$288 million down to \$197 million. The cuts fell especially heavily on dependent children, who lost \$53 million. The needy aged, the blind and the disabled, however, will also be receiving smaller assistance payments as a result of the cuts.

Fear of a veto also defeated a proposed amendment on the Senate floor to make the OASDI benefit increase 10 per cent instead of 7 per cent. A



Disability improvements will bring benefits to many not previously eligible.

majority of Democrats supported a higher figure, but most Republicans voted against it.

In signing the bill, President Eisenhower praised the OASDI benefit improvements which his Administration had opposed in the House, but again expressed concern about increasing the federal role in public assistance.

This story is important because it demonstrates the play of forces which shape social security legislation.

The Changes in OASDI

The 1958 amendments affect nearly all aspects of old-age, survivors and disability insurance. Some of the improvements go into effect automatically, but in many cases persons will have to apply for benefits to which they were not previously entitled.

The AFL-CIO is therefore making a special effort to get word of the improvements to all our members and their friends. We are urging our affiliates to make use of new posters and leaflets which can be obtained from local social security offices. Anyone

who thinks he may be eligible should read the leaflets or ask the social security office.

Higher Benefit Amounts

The 7 per cent increase in monthly benefits will be paid automatically, starting with checks received in early February. The new financing provisions become effective in January.

The AFL-CIO, in addition, to seeking at least a 10 per cent benefit increase, also favored counting earnings up to \$6000 a year for benefit and contribution purposes. The 7 per cent rise and the \$4800 ceiling really only restore relationships between benefits, earnings and prices that existed in 1954 when Congress had last changed relevant provisions.

But at least retired people will have an easier time meeting essential outlays, with an average of \$4.75 added to their monthly benefits. The minimum increase is \$3.

Widows with children under 18 are assured of similar increases in total family payments. The new family

maximum becomes \$254 instead of \$200. However, amounts over \$200 are usually payable only when average monthly earnings of the deceased earner were over \$250.

The maximum primary insurance benefit at once becomes \$116 instead of \$108.50, reflecting the general 7 per cent increase in benefits. It will rise steadily to \$127 as earnings above \$4200 a year are credited and help raise "average monthly earnings." Survivors benefits based entirely on earnings after 1958 can reach the new maximum in 1960.

Persons who must still average in earnings at lower figures will have to wait longer. By the year 1965, even if benefits are not further improved, the maximum for a retired or disabled worker will be \$124 or 98 per cent of \$127.

The benefits of dependents and survivors continue to be calculated as a certain percentage of the primary insurance amount—75 per cent for widows, 50 per cent for wives, etc. These percentages have not been changed.

The primary insurance amount is now determined by a table in the law instead of by a formula as in earlier years. This makes it easy for a person to find out just what his benefit will be, although persons trying to explain just how benefits are related to earnings will have a harder time than ever!

Examples of the new benefits are given in the table on this page.

Disability Amendments

By making significant improvements in disability insurance without controversy, Congress demonstrated its full acceptance of this part of the program. Its initiation two years earlier had been bitterly fought by the Eisenhower Administration, the insurance companies, business organizations and the American Medical Association. Disability benefits were adopted in 1956 by only a two-vote margin in the Senate, with all but seven Democrats in favor and all but six Republicans against.

This year the Senate Committee said that it "believes that disability benefits payable under the national social security system should be looked upon as providing the basic protection against loss of income due to disabling illness."

The 1958 improvements in the disability program need to be widely

known because they help many persons not previously eligible either for benefits or for the disability freeze that preserves pension rights.

Dependents of persons receiving disability benefits may now receive monthly payments like those provided for the dependents of retired workers. Any such dependents who have not yet done so should apply at once, since they became eligible for such benefits in September.

Monthly payments will no longer be reduced because people are receiving workmen's compensation or other federal disability payments, such as veterans' benefits. People who have not applied for disability benefits because of the previous deduction should now do so.

The definition of disability has not been changed, and it is still being very strictly interpreted. But one difficult requirement has been repealed.

It is no longer necessary to have worked six out of the last thirteen quarter-years before becoming disabled, although one must be fully insured and have at least twenty quarters of covered employment in the last forty.

The change means that many people slowly crippled by a growing disability will now be eligible for benefits or, if under 50, for the freeze only. Previous applicants who were rejected because of insufficient employment should find out if they can now qualify.

Many retired workers or widows have sons or daughters aged 18 or more who have a long-term severe disability which afflicted them before 18. These children can now receive benefits without having to prove dependency on the parent.

People with long-standing disabilities now (Continued on Page 20)

Examples of Monthly Payments After 1958

If average monthly earnings after 1950 are: ¹	\$50 or less	\$150	\$250	² \$350	³ \$400
For RETIREMENT at 65	\$33	\$73	\$95	\$116	\$127
For DISABILITY at 50					
For RETIRED WOMAN WORKER starting at age 62 ⁴	\$26	\$58	\$76	\$92	\$101
For WIDOW , or surviving child, or dependent widower, or parent	\$33	\$54	\$71	\$87	\$95
For RETIRED COUPLE , wife starting at age 62 ⁴	\$45	\$100	\$130	\$159	\$174
For RETIRED COUPLE , wife starting at age 65 or WIDOW and 1 child or 2 dependent PARENTS	\$49	\$109	\$142	\$174	\$190
For RETIRED COUPLE , and 1 child or WIDOW and 2 children	\$53	\$120	\$190	\$232	\$254
MAXIMUM FAMILY BENEFIT	\$53	\$120	\$202	\$254	\$254
SINGLE lump-sum death payment	\$99	\$219	\$255	\$255	\$255

¹ In figuring your average, you may omit up to five years of lowest earnings and any period your record was frozen because you were disabled.

² Average monthly earnings over \$350 will not be possible before the end of 1959.

³ A \$400 monthly average will generally not be possible for anyone who has reached the age of 27 before 1959. Payments based on this average cannot be made unless all credits used in figuring the benefit are earned after 1958.

⁴ Retirement payments to women are permanently reduced if started before age 65.

THE ACTOR'S JOB IS LABOR

By RALPH BELLAMY

President, Actors Equity Association

THE Actors Equity Association was organized in 1913. It achieved formal recognition in 1919 when almost all the actors on Broadway walked out of almost every play, risking their futures to achieve a rectification of the abuses and the exploitation they had suffered.

It was at that time that the Actors Equity Association adopted the slogan from Alexander Dumas' "The Three Musketeers"—"all for one and one for all."

The Actors Equity Association is now a union embracing all the actors in the legitimate theatre, consisting of some 10,000 members in the United States and Canada. The union has headquarters in New York City in a building at 226 West Forty-seventh Street which Equity owns. A governing board of seventy-two counselors and officers is elected on a rotating basis.

Equity is a branch member of the AFL-CIO's Associated Actors and Artists of America. The other branch members are the Screen Actors Guild, the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, the American Guild of Musical Artists, the American Guild of Variety Artists and several small foreign-language groups. Each branch of the Four A's is autonomous, servicing its own jurisdiction.

The basic contract of Actors Equity is negotiated with the League of New York Theaters, which is the organization of the New York theatrical producers. Our agreement with the League provides for an "Equity shop." This means that no producer will engage anyone but an Equity member and that an actor must be an Equity member in order to work for a producer.

If an actor is not an Equity member at the time of engagement, the producer and Equity agree that the actor must forthwith become a member. An actor cannot become a member until he receives his first job.



RALPH BELLAMY

We also have negotiated contracts with the producers' groups in other forms of the legitimate theater, including civic theaters, summer stock theaters, industrial shows and off-Broadway productions.

Our problems are salaries, working conditions and the general welfare of the theater. This is a simple statement of our concerns. There are, of course, many aspects of these three main preoccupations.

Actors have come a long way from the days when there was no Actors Equity Association. In those days a producer could rehearse for six months or more without pay, impose any kind of contract he cared to offer and, if he went broke on the road, strand a company when funds ran out and leave the actors to shift for themselves.

However, the theaters themselves haven't changed much since the era when actors were supposed to be grateful for the opportunity of presenting themselves before an audience for the purpose of satisfying an alleged exhibitionism. For instance, backstage sanitary and safety conditions are much as they were forty

and fifty years ago. Little or nothing has been done to correct these conditions in most cases.

In almost all theaters there is a lack of ventilation in the dressing rooms. There is an absence of proper heating and cooling provisions for the actors, while improperly maintained sanitary, toilet and showering conditions backstage are insufficient or improperly maintained.

This, of course, reflects the attitude toward actors as it prevailed before the Actors Equity Association came on the scene. The audience is provided with all conveniences, but these stop at the curtain.

Over the years Equity has pressed the League of New York Theaters for a rectification of these conditions, patiently understanding the problems the producer has with the theater owner, who is his landlord. Since our persuasiveness in this matter at the bargaining table has not been as effective as some of our performances on drafty or blazing-hot stages, we are now about to be forced to refuse to play theaters not adequately equipped.

Our union is presently examining

Helen Hayes is one of the stars in current "A Touch of the Poet."





Members of Equity at work in "The Music Man." Employment in the theater is insecure, with many ups and downs.

a pension program in line with the general trend. If any group qualifies for retirement pensions and the benefits of health and welfare provisions, it is the actors with their fluctuating incomes and insecure, precarious pursuit.

Equity has been seeking some tax relief in the form of a three- to five-year tax spread. It isn't uncommon to find an actor enjoying a successful and profitable season one year, only to be followed by unemployment and depletion of savings the next year.

Equity's problems differ in some respects from those of large unions in other fields. In most industries the employer manages to pass on any wage increases to the consumer. This has been more difficult to do in the theater because ticket prices have reached a peak which bears heavily on the economics of the theater.

There is a fairly constant yearly figure of about \$15,000,000 spent on production in the theater. Twenty-six unions are involved in all phases of the production of a play.

There is now a constant clash between the economics of the theater and our national economics. This is of concern to everyone involved in the theater.

Since Equity's inception it has

raised the minimum weekly salary from \$25 to \$100 on Broadway and \$135 on the road. These basic scales are tied to the cost of living index, and as a result an increase of \$3.50 was automatically effective on June 1.

Equity has limited rehearsal time to four weeks for a dramatic production and six weeks for a musical production. In the days before Equity there was no restriction on rehearsal time. The actors' union instituted and has gradually increased rehearsal pay to \$70 a week as opposed to no rehearsal pay twenty-five years ago.

PERHAPS the most original contribution which Equity made to the labor movement was the inclusion from the beginning of the principle of arbitration of all disputes arising out of the contract. Our information is that this was the first time that a union had ever been willing to trust the conditions of employment and the interpretation of those conditions to arbitration.

Equity and the League of New York Theaters have a standing committee, on call by either side, to present any interim problems which may arise between negotiation periods. The Equity-League Committee has no power except to recommend to its re-

spective boards. It has many values, particularly a constant awareness by each group of all problems of the theater, a kind of continuing negotiations, as well as a continuing atmosphere of understanding and consideration. The committee has functioned successfully.

Before the motion pictures, radio and television arrived, there were only the legitimate theater, vaudeville and burlesque to provide the cultural expressions of our society in the general field of entertainment. Certain aspects of the original constitution of the Actors Equity Association somewhat amusingly reflect the conception the legitimate actor had of himself in those days of the fedora, the fur collar, the gloves, spats and stick.

The worthy designers of Equity's constitution held themselves loftily apart from the rest of the world and considered themselves professionally above other groups in the entertainment field, such as vaudeville, chorus and burlesque. The constitution was designed solely for the legitimate actor, excluding all other fields.

Since then, of course, entertainment has taken on new proportions. It includes motion pictures, radio and television. Today most actors work in many fields—certainly more than

one. As the complexities of the entertainment business compound themselves, there are constant overlaps of jurisdiction which must be resolved.

Pay-as-you-see television is a matter which interests us, as it will undoubtedly influence our unemployment problems. Pay TV will certainly come about—and Actors Equity is strongly in favor of it.

[The reader should note that the AFL-CIO is on record in opposition to pay television. The views of the AFL-CIO were transmitted in April of 1957 by President George Meany in a telegram to the Federal Communications Commission. He said that the granting of licenses for pay television would be against the public interest and would "greatly curtail the use of the valuable medium of TV." The FCC was urged to deny pending applications for pay television licenses.]

Equity feels the main issue of the present struggle between the proponents and opponents doesn't really meet the eye. It is not whether the public wants or should have it. It is really who will control it and reap the profits, which will be enormous.

Pay TV would mean that Broadway plays could be made available to a mass audience and at the same time enhance the plays' continuing values on Broadway by word of mouth. It would encourage new and more production in the theater because the worst that could happen to a play would be the recovery of the investment plus a profit in a single showing. All of this unquestionably would benefit the theater and the people who work in it.

The Actors Equity Association is a middle-of-the-road organization, not given to extremes. Of course, any large group has objectors and dissenters, and I believe this is healthy. It is axiomatic that one faction of a group creates its opposite faction, and to me the implications of an extreme "right wing" can be just as reprehensible as those of an extreme "left wing."

I believe that any group has the right to question and examine the aims of an organized faction which seems to be conspiring for the possible purpose of taking control. The group has an obligation to be wary. Certainly no one can contest the right

of a constitution to preserve itself. This Equity has managed to do without ever having been seriously threatened by a "right wing" or "left wing" maneuver.

Our history is middle-of-the-road, and we have always managed to come up with the right answer.

We are grateful to those courageous actors who had the fortitude and farsightedness to place themselves and their careers in jeopardy in 1919. For many years we basked in their reflected achievements, content to enjoy those benefits and philosophies which belonged to those days.

But today we are alert to the conditions of an ever changing world and to ourselves as a part of it. Today we don't think of ourselves as exhibitionists. We have abandoned the picturesque haberdashery of the early days and we've caught up with the times.

We are aware of our responsibility to society, to the theater and to ourselves—and we have done our best to build and maintain a dignified position for the actor in the American theater.

Labor's Stake in Conservation

By ANDREW J. BIEMILLER

Director, AFL-CIO Department of Legislation

LABOR'S stake in resource conservation and development is real and positive. Labor's recognition of the importance of the nation's resources to working people and all citizens has been consistent over a long period.

The conservation movement has had a strong and friendly ally in organized labor. In the legislative field alone, the AFL-CIO has worked actively, urging realistic federal legislation relating to parks and forests, hydroelectric development, reclamation and other measures for the proper conservation and development of our natural resources.

Nor is American labor's interest of recent vintage.

Exactly fifty years ago the twenty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor said:

"The gifts of nature belong to the people of the earth, and our own na-

tural resources should be protected from the hands of those who through indifference, wanton avarice or ignorance would allow the gifts of nature to be wasted and destroyed or assume that form which would allow a few to grasp today and retain for the future those gifts of nature which should be used for the welfare of the people as a whole and not for the benefit and aggrandizement of a few."

Three years ago, at its first constitutional convention, the AFL-CIO in a unanimously approved resolution said:

"Only the federal government can provide effective leadership to develop our large river basins and only the federal government can provide for the multi-purpose planning that can bring the maximum flood control, power, navigation, recreation and irrigation which so many of our river basin areas need."



ANDREW J. BIEMILLER

Labor views its stake in national conservation policy as direct and vital. Working people are concerned not only with the economic impact of conservation but with its effect on the development and happiness of the whole man. (Continued on Page 27)

Labor Materials for School Use

By **RUTH WARREN GREENBERG**

*Education Director,
Connecticut State Labor Council*

I NEED materials about the labor movement for use with my class in economics."

"Can you tell me where I can get pamphlets and class materials about labor?"

"We get so much from the manufacturers. Why doesn't labor provide pamphlets and films?"

"I am writing a paper on 'right to work' laws for my class in problems in democracy. Will you please send me some literature on the subject?"

These are typical of the requests which the Connecticut State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, receives throughout the school year. They come from teachers and students, from the lower grades and secondary schools.

There was a time when we in the labor movement could rightly complain that our children learned nothing at school about trade unions—how they function, why they exist, how they came into being—or that, if unions were mentioned in the schoolroom, they were pictured as forces of evil.

This is changing. Unions are accepted as an integral part of our society. Most teachers, though not all, want to present unionism in an objective fashion. Textbooks increasingly give a fair story of the collective bargaining process—although most, in our view, do not do enough and some still look upon every action of unions and union officials as evil.

At best, however, textbooks can present only the outlines of the collective bargaining process or of labor history. They cannot give labor's views on current questions, nor can they explore intensively specific aspects of labor affairs, such as labor legislation, mediation and arbitration. The need for authentic materials on labor is present, as are the desire for them and the will to use them.

The Connecticut State Labor Council recognizes the situation and has embarked on a materials program for schools which it hopes will fill the

need. A year ago the executive board of the Council voted to substitute such a program for the scholarship programs which the Connecticut State Industrial Union Council and the Connecticut Federation of Labor had conducted prior to the state labor merger.

As education director of the State Labor Council, I was asked to look into the kinds of materials which might be needed and ways of assuring their use.

Even before the merger, as a result of work on the Fitzgerald Scholarship program, the Connecticut Federation of Labor had begun a modest materials program. Kits of pamphlets were made available to students who requested them in order to prepare for the Fitzgerald examination. In the last year before the state merger 300 such kits were mailed out in response to requests.

Further, the Connecticut Federation of Labor suggested to the sixteen city central labor bodies that they subscribe to the *AFL-CIO News* for the secondary schools in their respective districts. This program has been continued. During the last school year the *AFL-CIO News* went to 130

schools. This is not full coverage. For the new school year we hope every high school in Connecticut will receive a subscription to the *AFL-CIO* weekly newspaper.

In order to get the labor materials program under way in our state, I have talked with Dr. Victor Pitkin of the Division of Instructional Services, State Department of Education; social science teachers; Dr. Philmore Wass, executive secretary, Connecticut Council for the Advancement of Economic Education; Dr. Urbane Hennen, School of Education, University of Connecticut; Dr. Warren Fabyan, Teachers College of Connecticut in New Britain, and the staff of the Labor-Management Institute at the University of Connecticut.

From each has come valuable suggestions. The program which is evolving is due in large part to their counsel. Much of it will be under way before long.

The program, as planned now, is of three parts: (1) the distribution to interested students and teachers of pamphlets and books about labor and economic matters which are already in existence; (2) a library of films about labor for use by schools

Mrs. Greenberg chats with Connecticut University Professors John Glynn (left) and Urbane Hennen, who are writing material for secondary schools.



throughout the state; and (3) development of a resource unit on labor for students and teachers.

To start the program, we wrote to the principals of all Connecticut high schools. We asked whether or not they or their social science teachers would be interested in materials about the labor movement and to offer to send subscriptions to two AFL-CIO publications—*Labor's Economic Review* and *Economic Trends and Outlook*. The response to that single communication was proof to the State Labor Council of the need for a materials program.

Nearly 50 per cent of the public schools replied to that single communication. Of 104 public secondary schools, forty-eight replied requesting eighty-two subscriptions to the AFL-CIO publications. More than half of the state technical schools answered.

Response from the private and parochial schools was somewhat less impressive. Eight of twenty-three parochial schools asked to receive the publications, while nine of the forty-nine private schools requested ten subscriptions.

These subscriptions will be renewed when they expire and others added. Packets of pamphlets are being assembled for teacher and student use. These packets will include the excellent Public Affairs pamphlet by Jack Barbash called "The Labor Movement in the U.S.," a sample union contract, pamphlets presenting labor's position on so-called "right to work" laws and the like.

From time to time, as new pamphlets are published which we think will have interest for teachers and students, distribution will be made to interested schools.

The second part of the Connecticut State Labor Council's materials program is the library of films. There is a growing body of 16mm. films about various aspects of labor. Many of these films are too specialized for school use, but there are excellent films available which will help to fill the requests for labor films.

For example, "With These Hands," produced by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, tells the story of that organization through the eyes of a cloakmaker from the earliest bitter struggles for recognition to the time when the union had become an established fact.

Several films produced by the National Film Board of Canada describe



why workers organize, how a union is formed and the functioning of a union. "Labor's Witness," produced by the United Auto Workers, is another film which could have value for school use. Made from film taken during a hearing before a Senate committee, "Labor's Witness" presents UAW President Walter Reuther testifying on his union's political education program. As a demonstration of how Congressional hearings are conducted, it is excellent. These are some of the labor films which might be helpful to teachers and students.

Books, pamphlets or resource units on labor written specifically for school use are difficult to find. "Labor in America," by Mark Starr and Harold Faulkner, a high school text, and "The Story of Labor in American History," a teaching unit published by the Minnesota Federation of Labor, deal primarily with the history of labor.

Neither the Connecticut State Labor Council nor teachers we have consulted are aware of any other teaching materials on labor. Valuable as the two works mentioned are, they do not entirely fill the need for a teaching unit on the collective bargaining aspects of unions, on contract negotiation and enforcement, on the administration of unions and on the role unions play in the community, legislative and political life of present-day society.

The third part of the State Labor Council's materials program is the development of a resource unit on trade unionism which would fill this specific need. To assure itself that such a unit would have objectivity, that it would not be just another piece of propaganda and that it would have stature as a teaching aid, the Council has sought the advice of members of the Connecticut Council for the Advancement of Economic Education and personnel in the Labor-Management Institute and the School of Education at the University of Connecticut.

From those consultations a plan has evolved for five units on trade union-

ism for use in the secondary schools. They will be written by John Glynn, associate professor, Labor-Management Institute, and Dr. Urbane Hennen, associate professor, School of Education, University of Connecticut. Bibliographies and suggested work projects will be included with each unit.

The units will be written in such a fashion as to be useful to student and teacher alike. There will be a general introduction (development of the industrial economy) and the units cover the function of the trade union, union administration, development and growth of trade unionism, and unions and democracy.

A NOTABLE thing about this project is the editorial policy agreed upon by the authors and the State Labor Council. The Council has said that the content and philosophy of the units will be the authors' and that it will exercise no censorship on the project. In this way the Council hopes to set a high standard for materials developed for school use by outside organizations.

The units will be published only after teachers have read and criticized them. A first draft of the units will be presented to teachers attending the Economic Education Workshop at the University of Connecticut. Their suggestions and criticisms will be taken into account by the authors when the final draft of the units is written.

Development of a teaching unit on trade unionism is not enough, of course. Its use by as many junior and senior high school teachers and students as possible is the objective of the Council. We shall do our utmost to make this unit known to teachers. We have no doubt that, once known, its quality and objectivity will make it a valuable aid to the teaching and study of the labor movement.

The program of materials about labor for school use as sketched here is only the beginning. It is contemplated as a continuing, growing program which will succeed only if it fills the needs of the men and women in the social science departments of our schools.

We shall be in touch with school people continually to seek their advice, to ask for their evaluation of the program. Only by constant communication does the State Labor Council feel it can serve the teachers and students of Connecticut schools.

The Glass and Ceramic Workers

By RALPH REISER

President, United Glass and Ceramic Workers

THE organization of the United Glass and Ceramic Workers is a small union, compared with many of its sister organizations in the AFL-CIO. There are 45,000 members of the United Glass and Ceramic Workers, of whom 12,000 work at Pittsburgh Plate Glass and 10,000 at Libbey-Owens-Ford.

This group is known as "Big Glass."

Another 7,000 members are employed by five independent companies and are covered by one contract. This group is known as "Little Glass." The remainder of the membership is employed in plants producing related products, and are covered by individual contracts.

Although it is small in size, the union enjoys a remarkably secure position. Recognition for members only was won in 1933. In 1939 it won exclusive bargaining rights. By 1940 the union won union shop agreements. With respect to union security provisions, our organization is one of the most uniformly protected of all AFL-CIO affiliates.

After a hectic history of dissension and factionalism, the union now has a closely knit and stable group of international officers and local union presidents. Three international officers have served continuously since 1941. They are Leland Beard, first vice-president; Lewis McCracken, secretary-treasurer, and this writer.

I was elected president in 1957 to fill the vacancy created by the death of Burl W. Phares. I accepted employment with the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company as a journeyman in 1935, and I worked at the trade until 1941 when I was elected president of District 4. In 1945 I was elected second vice-president in charge of organizing, holding this position until my election to the presidency.

Ours is a democratic organization. The rights of the local unions are rigorously safeguarded. Strong feel-



Lee Minton (left), president of Glass Bottle Blowers, has a badge pinned on his lapel by President Reiser at recent UGC convention.

ings of membership control and local autonomy stem from an early experience with one-man unionism. The UGC has since taken constitutional precautions to prevent a recurrence of "top down" unionism.

The Big Glass wage conference is attended by about seventy-five representatives. This is approximately one representative for every 300 workers. They must approve the contract unanimously. While there is some feeling that this conference procedure at times is unwieldy, its educational value is felt to make up for the inconvenience.

ALL THE representatives—and thus every group in the plants—are made fully aware of what happens to their pet proposals. They often see that many union proposals are abandoned by their fellow workers in exchange for even greater concessions from the companies on other issues.

Such assumptions of responsibility by the rank and file are, of course, a source of strength to the top union leaders in that the responsibility for making decisions is widely shared with local plant representatives.

The Little Glass wage conferences are conducted in the same manner.

International officers are elected by referendum vote every two years. There is substantial participation in local elections, partly because of the practice of voting in the plants rather than in the union hall. No responsible union positions may be held by

non-members, and all persons must become members through working in the plants under contract. The union's staff payroll is kept to a minimum. There are only four international officers, six district presidents and eleven representatives.

The history of UGC goes back to 1917, when Libbey-Owens-Ford's predecessor signed a contract with the Window Glass Cutters League covering highly skilled craftsmen in its Charleston plant. As time went on, collective bargaining with the craft union was extended to the other L-O-F window glass plant at Shreveport and to the window glass plants of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company.

In 1933 the Cutters League set out to organize the unskilled and semi-skilled workers of the flat glass industry into the Federation of Flat Glass Workers. Organization of the locals at the L-O-F plate glass plants in Toledo and Ottawa, the PPG plate glass plants at Creighton and Ford City, the window glass plants of the American Window Glass Company and the Fourco glass companies was accomplished quickly and easily.

Within a year the Federation of Flat Glass Workers had signed up 15,000 members. The Cutters League, with only 1,500 members, soon became fearful of being swallowed up by this new industrial union which it had organized and with which it had shared officers. In 1934 the League decided to sever relations with the Federation.

Since that time the Federation has been in existence as an autonomous union. It was affiliated with the AFL in 1934 and in 1936 became a member of the CIO. In 1954 the name of the union was changed to the United Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America.

The Federation of Flat Glass Workers won recognition as the bargaining agent (Continued on Page 31)

Dethroning King Filibuster

By HYMAN H. BOOKBINDER
AFL-CIO Legislative Representative

PART of the Congressional record for January 7, 1959, has already been written. It remains only for the parties involved to get up on the Senate floor and carry out the plans which have been made for that historic day. What the ultimate outcome of these plans will be, however, cannot be known until the last pages of that record are written.

On January 7, 1959, the Eighty-sixth Congress will meet for the first time. There will be ninety-six Senators ready to take up business (ninety-eight if the Alaskan Senators are ready for swearing in). A number of them will be newly elected. But before they proceed to take up any business, one Senator will rise and offer a motion which will be substantially along these lines:

"In accordance with Article I, Section 5, of the Constitution, which declares that 'each House may determine the rules of its proceedings,' I now move that this body take up for immediate consideration the adoption of rules for the Senate of the Eighty-sixth Congress."

Immediately after this motion is made, it is almost certain that another Senator will rise to offer a motion to lay the first motion on the table. If this second motion is carried, the first motion will have been killed.

Thus, the battle will again be joined on one of the Senate's most controversial issues, the retention or modification of its Rule 22—the so-called filibuster rule.

This battle to dethrone King Filibuster took a similar form in 1957, at the opening of the Eighty-fourth Congress, and in 1953 when the Eighty-third convened.

In 1953 advocates of a change numbered twenty-one. But in 1957 the number had increased to forty-one—eight short of the required majority to adopt new rules.

Will these eight votes be found on January 7, 1959?



HYMAN H. BOOKBINDER

There is growing confidence that they will be found—first, because of the expected increase in the number of liberal Senators after the November elections and, second, because of the growing awareness that the integration crisis which has gone from bad to worse since Little Rock must sooner or later be faced by Congress itself. And Congress will be impotent to act as long as the strangling King Filibuster continues to hover over the Senate chamber.

The 1957 effort and its aftermath provide much food for thought and much guidance for future action. When advocates of a rules change came so close to actual victory, the Southern bloc got worried. They feared that at least one of the following was possible—perhaps both:

1. By 1959 or 1961, advocates of a change might get those extra votes, and Rule 22 would be in great danger.

2. Despite the tremendous difficulty in closing debate under Rule 22, there just might be enough support for invoking cloture if the Southerners were too obstinate in opposing any kind of civil rights legislation through filibuster.

In other words, it became necessary to demonstrate that King Filibuster wasn't quite so bad as some people said it was. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was the result.

Before the President's signature on the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was dry, however, it had been amply demonstrated how the mere *threat* of filibuster had taken the very heart out of this new legislation.

The Little Rock "incident" had occurred within days after Congress went home, but the new Civil Rights Act provided the federal government with none of the authority which would have facilitated a peaceful and positive solution to the problem. Such authority had been included in the famous Part III of the proposed legislation—authority for the Department of Justice in cases such as school integration to go into the courts at the propitious moment and seek injunctions against those threatening to interfere with judicial decrees.

But the segregationist forces in the Senate, led by Russell of Georgia, gave warning that any bill which retained Part III would be filibustered to death. This threat plus the abandonment of this provision by the President led to its elimination from the bill.

The filibuster threat was used again in connection with the vital "jury trial" question. Civil rights forces were persuaded that jury trials for violators of federal injunctions would take the teeth out of the remaining features of the bill. But the filibuster threat was used again, and the session was coming to a close. The Southern position was sustained. Later on, in conference, a compromise jury trial provision was agreed to and the Civil Rights Act was adopted.

If the segregationist forces thought that their "reasonableness"—in not filibustering to total death the Civil Rights Act of 1957—would forestall renewed efforts to change Rule 22,

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they were soon disabused of this notion. The fourteen months since Little Rock have seen a steady deterioration of the integration battle. The Supreme Court has ruled consistently in favor of integration with "deliberate speed," but progress has been slow and states like Arkansas and Virginia continue to thumb their noses at the courts and the Constitution.

The children are the principal sufferers—but the very basis of our federal government will be undermined unless steps are taken to implement the court decisions and the Constitution.

There is growing support for Congressional action. A major push in this direction came from a surprising source a few weeks ago. The Governor of Florida, Leroy Collins, called upon the next Congress speedily to enact legislation aimed at implementing the Supreme Court decisions. Whether his particular legislative proposals—establishment of state commissions to work out timetables for integration—have merit is not nearly so important as the fact that a Southern Governor has come to the conclusion that Congress should pass any legislation aimed at *implementing*, rather than *blocking*, integration. Liberals like Senators Douglas and Javits have, of course, always urged implementing legislation.

But no legislation in this area will be possible as long as Rule 22 is unchanged. A few weeks ago, a bipartisan group of Senators—Republicans Javits and Case and Democrats Douglas and Humphrey—announced a drive to change Rule 22 at the opening of the Eighty-sixth Congress. In their statement they declared:

"The closing down of certain public schools in Arkansas and Virginia in an attempt to nullify the Supreme Court's decision ordering desegregation makes it imperative that Congress and the Executive, as well as the courts, act to secure equal protection of the law for all our citizens. However, the ability of Congress to fulfill its heavy legislative responsibility in this area and to give executive departments the necessary new authority is critically endangered unless the fight to end the filibuster is successful and we can bring majority rule to the United States Senate."

These Senators then declared their

intention of bringing this matter to the floor of the Senate on the opening day of the new Congress next January.

Why does this issue have to come up on the first day? The answer to this question is contained in the nature of Rule 22 itself. A provision in this rule says that there can be *no limitation whatsoever*—not even the basic cloture provision—on motions affecting changes in the rules themselves. Thus, if the Southerners don't like the proposed changes in the rules, they can use an absolute filibuster to kill the proposals. Not even sixty-five or seventy or seventy-five Senators could stop debate as long as ten or twenty Senators want to continue "discussing" the question.

THE answer to this dilemma is to change the rules *before* the new Senate even starts business. The right of a simple majority of sworn Senators to adopt rules at the beginning of each Congress has been challenged by those who argue that the Senate is a "continuing" body and automatically inherits the rules of the preceding Congress.

A historic ruling on this question was made by Vice-President Nixon in 1957 in answer to a parliamentary inquiry from Senator Humphrey. The presiding officer stated:

"There can be no question that the majority of the new existing membership of the Senate, under the Constitution, have the power to determine the rules under which the Senate will proceed * * * ."

"It is the opinion of the chair that while the rules of the Senate have been continued from one Congress to another, the right of a current majority of the Senate at the beginning of a new Congress to adopt its own rules, stemming as it does from the Constitution itself, cannot be restricted or limited by rules adopted by a majority of the Senate in a previous Congress."

Because of the ruling, opponents of a rules change will make the motion to "lay on the table." If they succeed—as they did in 1957—they will thus merely be deciding that they do not wish at the time to adopt new rules. But the *right* of a majority to do so at the beginning of a new Congress is not thereby denied.

If the motion to adopt new rules is adopted, then the Senate will proceed to debate and act upon the na-

ture of the rules to be adopted. On this there is not complete agreement among the advocates of a change. The principal proposal is the one adopted last year by the Senate Rules Committee but never brought to the floor of the Senate.

Known as the Douglas-Javits proposal, or Senate Resolution 17, this would make it possible for debate to be limited by two-thirds of the Senators *present and voting* after two days of debate and by forty-nine Senators (fifty with Alaska) after *fifteen* days debate. In both cases, after such cloture has been invoked, every Senator would still be allowed one hour's time on the pending measure.

Under the present filibuster rule it is necessary to get two-thirds of all Senators *duly sworn* to approve cloture. Experience has conclusively proved that this is an almost impossible thing to achieve. Because of the precious and cherished tradition of "unlimited debate" in the Senate, some members just as a matter of principle will never vote to cut off any debate. In the proposals affecting civil rights, an almost solid South lines up against cloture, providing about twenty votes immediately.

The Javits-Douglas proposal is in



fact a very modest one. It retains the two-thirds requirement for cloture after two days notice, but makes it two-thirds of those actually present. *Rule 22 now makes every absent vote count as much as two votes actually cast for cloture.* In addition, the proposed change would make it possible for an absolute majority of the Senate to close debate after *fifteen* days—plus the one hour for each Senator. This may not be *unlimited* debate, but is certainly not *limited* debate either.

The United States Senate prides itself in being the world's greatest deliberative (Continued on Page 27)

Labor and the Golden Years

By LEO PERLIS

Director, AFL-CIO Community Service Activities

HIS name is Ben. He's 76 years of age. Five days a week he walks three and a half miles to a senior citizens' center in the heart of Lansing, Michigan, spends five hours there and then makes the long trek back home.

No longer does Ben feel the grim, cold touch of loneliness.

This is a small part of the Lansing story—a tale of labor's efforts to give America's older citizens the golden years they deserve, instead of the tragedy of wasted years that now confronts hundreds of thousands of our aging.

The Lansing story found its origin in the long history of labor's concern for the plight of the aged. Many national and international unions from their very beginnings demonstrated this concern by establishing homes for retired members and various types of retirement programs. In addition, the history of the labor movement is filled with the story of labor's struggle to better conditions for the aging through the passage of legislation at the national, state and local levels.

Approximately five years ago the national Community Services Committee started to write the first chapter of the Lansing story.

The increase in the number of citizens over 65, the shift from a predominantly rural society to an urban civilization, the ability of many millions of mass-production workers to

retire because of pension programs achieved through collective bargaining—all these and many more factors pointed to service to the aging as a top-priority community services program for the labor movement.

Late in 1953 the national CSC staff was charged with developing a plan of action. Out of intensive study and exhaustive research came the foundations of a program.

Among a score of needs of the aged, two seemed to cry out for immediate attention—the need that is felt so deeply by a large group of the aged for companionship and social belonging, and the need to assist retired workers and those nearing retirement age to understand more fully what is involved in retirement.

How to translate the awareness of these needs into a concrete program remained the problem.

It was decided that a program should be worked out in cooperation with a local Community Services Committee—a pilot project that could serve as a guide to all communities.

A test city was needed. The city should be medium in size. It should be partially industrialized. It should have a well-organized labor move-

ment and an active, aggressive central labor body. It should have sound, effective health and welfare agencies.

Lansing, Michigan, was selected. Along with meeting the other requirements, Lansing possessed union leadership that was genuinely concerned about the problems of the aged and wanted to do something about them.

On October 15, 1954, a national staff representative of the CSC went into Lansing and launched a series of meetings with local labor bodies and community groups, outlining the proposed program, answering questions and emphasizing the importance of all-out support for this pilot project.

The four-point program called for establishment of a Drop-In Center to provide recreational and leisure-time activity for Lansing's senior citizens, counseling for retired workers, a pre-retirement educational program and regular monthly meetings of the retired group.

The project met with full acceptance by the Lansing Community Services Committee. Pledges of cooperation were also forthcoming from every group contacted, including the presidents of all the local unions.



LEO PERLIS



Bridge Day is always a hit at the Drop-In Center in Lansing. The program embraces a great variety of activities. Close to 1,000 persons each month now find things within the center that are missing in their lives outside its walls.

Next came the arduous task of making the program a reality. The Community Services Committee was immediately faced with the problem of finding funds to operate the Drop-In Center. Central labor body funds were limited and could not be drawn upon. A proposal was presented to the delegates of the body that provided for voluntary acceptance of local unions affiliated with the organization to remit one-half cent per capita per member per month to be designated as a retired workers' fund. The cooperation of the significant bulk of the locals was forthcoming.

Later it developed that this income was insufficient to cover the expenses of the center. But by that time the idea of the project had caught fire in Lansing and the various local labor groups underwrote expenditures for food and supplies, and international unions carried through special fundraising projects.

The problem of finding a location for the center was solved when one of the local unions offered the use of a part of its facilities.

The need for personnel to staff the center was met when the community chest labor staff representative agreed to act as coordinator of the overall

program and volunteers of the Community Services Committee and from local unions agreed to provide the day-to-day direction. Public and private social welfare agencies also assisted with special activities, and local merchants provided equipment for the center.

Through the persistence, hard work and dedication of the Lansing labor movement, the groundwork for the pilot program was finally laid. In March of 1955 the committee was ready to announce the opening of the center.

THE growth of the center over the next two years was rapid and exciting. Counseling for retired workers, forums on pre-retirement education and the active participation of retired citizens became inherent parts of the center's life.

The daily register at the center immediately began to show that a great number of persons in the community who did not have union backgrounds were using the facilities of the center and taking part in its activities. Here a community services program of organized labor was benefiting the total community once again. This, logically, pointed the way toward the devel-

opment of the center as a community-supported agency.

With this in mind, the committee worked unceasingly over a period of two years with various local governmental and community groups to make this labor-created and labor-sponsored program a part of the overall community picture.

It was this work of organized labor that was responsible for the community's acceptance of the retired workers' program which finally came on October 24, 1957, when the Lansing City Recreation Department announced it would co-sponsor the program and center with the union group. The center was relocated in a newly-remodeled city-owned building and provision was made for full-time paid personnel.

The success of the center can be seen in the fact that close to 1,000 persons each month now find things within the center that are missing in their lives outside its walls.

Effectiveness of the program also resulted in four neighborhood clubs springing up in four different sections of the city. The activities of these clubs parallel those of the center.

The entire program has been hailed in the Lansing press, with full credit

given to the labor movement for pioneering the project.

Further proof of the value of this program is more than evident during a visit to the center.

Go there on Pie Day when the ladies bring the pies and the men do the eating.

Listen to and watch the 82-year-old fiddle player or the 75-year-old mandolin player as they warm up for a dance at the center.

Sit in on some of the volunteer work done at the center and watch the needles fly as bandages are stitched and as aged hands once again find they can be useful and are needed.

A great deal was learned through this action program in Lansing. Experiments in the complex area of planning for retirement proved of special significance.

PREPARATION for retirement actually should begin in infancy. Certainly it should begin in the early forties, and it should be concerned not only with financial planning but with psychological, emotional and physical retirement as well.

Perhaps the most important single element that should underlie all retirement plans is good mental health, with each potential retiree asking him-



Senior citizens make bandages. Retired folks are happy when usefully occupied.

self three questions: Where did I come from? Where am I? Where am I going?

The answer to the last question could well determine the kind of retirement plan needed.

The Lansing story is only a beginning. Pre-retirement counseling and the establishment of Drop-In Centers for senior citizens are priorities for the coming year in the program of the AFL-CIO Community Service Activities. These two vital topics will also be on the agenda at CSA's series of regional training institutes to be

held this winter in five leading American universities.

The AFL-CIO-CSA will seek to develop an ever wider and ever stronger pattern of service to the older citizen in the hope that the American labor movement can be one of those that share in finding the solution to this major social welfare problem.

Just as the seniority of a job-holder earns respect and fair treatment, the seniority in years of a human being deserves no less.

This, too, is a gain the American labor movement will work to achieve.

Our New Social Security

(Continued from Page 9)

have three more years in which to apply for the freeze, and back payments for twelve months can be made.

Other OASDI Changes

Some people will be able to earn more without losing benefits because of the retirement test. It will still be true that one month's check will not be due for every \$80 by which earnings exceed \$1200. However, a person will get a benefit check for any month in which he does not earn more than \$100 (instead of \$80 as at present).

About 60,000 aged dependent parents will be eligible for benefits based on the work of a son or daughter who had died, even where a widow, widower or children also survive the son or daughter.

About 5,000 people will benefit from a variety of changes in the eligibility requirements for dependents and survivors benefits, especially

adopted children and dependents who have married.

Among a number of minor changes in coverage, one most important for our members makes it easier for certain state and local government employees to obtain protection.

When the new Congress assembles, the AFL-CIO will again be seeking to remedy continuing gaps and inadequacies of the social security program. Our members, like other Americans, have a profound interest in security, especially in insurance payments available without a means test.

The nation's tremendous productive capacity permits ever-higher levels of living and good health care for older people as well as for those still employed. Families with young children must be properly protected against the crippling effects of poverty.

The 1958 social security amendments are good but not sufficient.



Life will be a bit easier for aged as a result of boost in benefits.

Engineers Are Workers

By **RUSSELL M. STEPHENS**

President, American Federation of Technical Engineers

IT IS well known that the changing economy of the country has had a great deal of influence on the thinking of "middle class" employees.

Technical and professional employees were not spared during the great depression of the Thirties any more than were the wage workers.

While the policy of retrenchment was somewhat delayed for the former group, the salaried employees were affected more severely when the blow fell. New employment opportunities for technical and professional employees were rare during the depression years.

As a result of this situation the salaried categories began to question the illusion that they were different from wage workers. However, despite this questioning, the technical and professional workers even today are, to a large degree, unwilling to accept the concept of true trade unionism.

The white-collar employees for years have considered themselves apart from the wage workers on the one hand and the corporate owners on the other. They have felt that the interests of the owners and the wage workers are diametrically opposite to one another and they as a group were somewhere in between.

This type of thinking causes a situation which places the white-collar employees in a group that has no common economic interest and therefore hinders any possibility of class allegiance within itself. They have vague ambitions, consider themselves superior to the wage worker and indulge in dreams of economic independence, but still are too proud to accept any theory of mass action required to obtain this independence.

As a rule, most salaried employees dream of owning their own business and, if unable to accomplish this, of at least rising to managerial status. However, with corporate monopolies gaining control of small business, these dreams are becoming increasingly difficult of achievement. The number of managerial positions di-



RUSSELL M. STEPHENS

minishes as business becomes more centralized, and the number of highly paid positions is extremely small when compared with the supply of technical and professional workers.

Of course, the high-salaried executives and directors share the economic interests of their employers. They have a stake in the successful working of the system since their jobs depend on their ability to increase the owners' profits. A perusal of the list of top-paid executives in the country today will bear this out. As a rule, the more successful their company is, the more they receive in the form of direct compensation and bonuses.

Such a system has a direct bearing on the status of the white-collar worker. The technicians, the college graduates, the established professionals and engineers who had visions of being individual entrepreneurs in their chosen careers became sadly disillusioned by the turn of economic conditions. They found they were unable to compete successfully with the financial giants of corporate industry. Therefore, many had to drop their ideals and join with corporations, not as consultants but as employees.

This tended to change the entire concept of the engineering profession.

Economically speaking, from the employers' viewpoint, this is the only way to handle engineering work today. The company purchases the necessary tools, machinery and equipment, and it gives the orders as to how and when the work shall be done. It issues a paycheck periodically and, in general, exercises the functions of directing the working groups. Thus the engineers are dependent on the large amount of capital needed to carry on their work.

Expensive research projects are financed by the company, but the practice of pinpointing the young technician or engineer toward the specialty it desires him to pursue, for the sake of expediency, tends to make the work repetitious and thus stifles the initiative which is supposed to be the main stock in trade of a good engineer or technician.

It also lowers the morale of the employee as he begins to feel he is rapidly approaching a dead end street. Thus he becomes submerged in the maelstrom of workers and loses his individual identity and becomes a cog in a large machine. Basically, the ensuing result is to lower the economic independence of the worker.

FORMERLY, in the days of small companies, the individual could discuss his grievances directly with his employer. Now, with corporate ownership, he has to do so with his immediate superior, who is only an employee himself and may be unable to correct the existing situation.

Since as an individual the employee is unable to accomplish his purpose, it is mandatory for him to help form and belong to an organization which will carry on collective bargaining with his employer in order to obtain the proper compensation and working conditions in keeping with his contribution to his company.

As previously stated, top-level executives receive increased compensation and bonuses for their contribution to increased success of the company, and they tend to hold the

salaried worker down in order to build up their own individual case. Therefore, organization among the salaried group is a must. What is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander.

A glaring example of this situation occurred recently. On July 1 many steel companies notified their management people that there would be no pay increases at that time for personnel ranging from mill foremen and office supervisors to top executives. This was the date that plant workers began drawing their new rates under their three-year contracts.

In past years U.S. Steel management men had received salary increases roughly comparable to the boosts won by hourly employees under contracts with the United Steelworkers of America and by salaried employees under contracts with the Technical Engineers. But slack business in the steel industry in the first half of 1958 prompted some companies to notify their "exempt" personnel that there would be no pay boosts for them at present.

U.S. Steel management people were notified of the decision not to grant pay boosts to the company's "exempt" personnel. This action will not necessarily penalize top executives, who are certain to benefit quite substantially as business picks up.

IN THE writer's opinion, many engineers, technicians, scientists, etc., while they have finally seen the need for organization, have approached the problem in the wrong way. They have joined societies and formed various associations to rectify their wrongs and injustices. Much to their sorrow, they have discovered, too late, that they have left the solution of their problems in the hands of the uninitiated or the company-dominated association.

They have also found, to their horror and amazement, that the top officers of the various societies are the top executives of either their own employer or of companies with the same interests, and as such they will do little to improve the status of members.

Instead, the society officers will spend hours expounding the virtues of the employers and how thankful the member should be to find himself affiliated with such a fine organization. The officers will talk at great length on all the nebulous qualities



The engineer wants economic security. He can get it only by organizing.

of the company and how the interests of the employees are its greatest concern. But the minute an employee member of the society asks a question about economic security, he is promptly told this is unethical and he should place his future in the hands of the company.

Thus the poor lamb is led to slaughter. When a recession hits his employer, all thought of the employees' future and ambitions is forgotten. In the rush for survival, heads are chopped off at random, regardless of ability, length of service or the many other worthwhile attributes of the employee. The employee finds himself unemployed without the protection of

seniority in layoff and recall, without adequate severance pay, without supplemental unemployment benefits and without continuation of pension rights and health and insurance benefits.

Heavy-hearted and sadly disillusioned, he vows to himself that in the future he will not be fooled by the honeyed words of vague promises but will seek affiliation with an experienced organization which will negotiate a proper collective bargaining agreement with his employer. In this manner he will obtain the protection of a written document serviced by competent people and legally defended by some of the smartest labor attorneys in the country.

AFL-CIO SECRETARY SCHNITZLER SAYS:

We of labor feel that we have an extremely large stake in preventing accidents. We know that accidents are no respecters of persons. But we also know that the result of accidents—distributed as they are across the whole population—falls heaviest on those who are dependent for their livelihoods on wages and salaries.

DO YOU EAT MEAT?

By THOMAS J. LLOYD and PATRICK E. GORMAN

*President and Secretary-Treasurer, Respectively,
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen*

THE purity of our food is something all too often taken for granted. We assume we are being protected by all sorts of laws. We assume further that government agencies have thousands of men carrying out this safeguarding legislation.

Actually, this is often not true. Weak laws or even no laws may be on the books. And even if the legislation has been enacted, the inspection agency may be so starved for funds that it cannot fulfill its function of consumer protection.

When the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, the AFL-CIO and other organizations were in the midst of the campaign for a federal compulsory poultry inspection law, most people found it difficult to believe that no mandatory consumer protection against filthy and diseased poultry existed. That campaign ended successfully with an effective statute for compulsory inspection of poultry passed by Congress in 1957.

But much legislative work remains to be done to assure that the protection which we as consumers take for granted is actually there. Our union, strongly supported by the AFL-CIO, played a major role in winning a series of victories during the recent session of Congress to do exactly that.

As a result:

►Meat inspection has been brought out of a serious crisis nearing breakdown.

►Poultry inspection is ready to go into full operation next January, with sufficient funds and without being weakened.

►Commendable progress was made to secure meat and poultry inspection laws in many state legislatures for intrastate commerce.

For a number of years the Meat Inspection Division of the U. S. Department of Agriculture was short-changed in its appropriations. Its in-

spection force declined while the number of plants sharply increased.

The Meat Inspection Division shifted its employees back and forth, borrowed veterinarians from other sections of the Department of Agriculture and took a variety of other expedients to meet the severe inspector shortage.

But this patchwork began breaking down. In early 1957 our union listed eighteen cities for Congress in which slaughtering operations had at times

slaughtered or in certain cases processed without inspection, meat production necessarily had to be curtailed until sufficient inspection was again available.

The consequences of such a situation were dire to all groups—especially if the curtailments in slaughtering and processing increased in frequency and duration.

The consumer would be hurt because the already record price of meat would probably skyrocket higher and a definite threat to health protection would occur. The worker would be hurt because further layoffs would come on top of the recession-caused job losses. The farmer would be hurt because less livestock would go to market and cattle prices would drop. The packinghouse industry would be hurt because business volume would drop.

Clearly, something had to be done.

During the first session of the Eighty-fifth Congress—in 1957—labor, consumer organizations, industry groups and public health organizations worked for a sizable increase in the meat inspection appropriation. Their separate and generally uncoordinated efforts were aimed at securing enough money to allow the Meat Inspection Division to hire an adequate inspection staff.

A small increase over the amounts recommended by the Senate and House Appropriations Committees was won, but this was little more than a dent. A breakthrough was needed.

The basic problem in 1957 was the hysterical and almost irrational economy drive fostered by the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and similar groups.

This effort caused ridiculous actions by Congress on appropriations, especially on socially necessary ones.



An inspector checking hog carcasses in a Chicago plant. Meat inspection has been brought out of a near-breakdown crisis.

been temporarily curtailed because of the lack of sufficient inspectors to oversee the slaughtering.

During the rest of 1957 and early 1958, the situation became worse. Curtailments of slaughter at times reached a stage where members of our union actually suffered layoffs because of the inspector shortage.

The inspection force had been stretched to the breaking point. The addition of a new plant requiring inspection or the illness of one or more inspectors in the area would bring trouble. Since no meat may be

But a second problem was apparent in 1957. Many and differing groups supported the campaign for added meat inspection funds, but their work had been uncoordinated.

To meet that problem, the AMCBW's Washington representatives, Vice-President Leon B. Schachter and legislative representative Arnold Mayer, held meetings with representatives of the American Meat Institute, the National Independent Meat Packers Association and the Western States Meat Packers Association, the major industry groups. These conferences were held before Congress came back for its 1958 session.

A joint effort was agreed upon. And still other groups came into the campaign.

When the President's budget message reached Congress, the need for this work was underlined. President Eisenhower and his Administration, still jittery because of the Chamber of Commerce's cut-the-budget demands, had severely shortchanged meat inspection.

Despite an expected 3.5 per cent increase in plants needing inspection, the Administration was asking less money than it had requested the previous year. This was piling calamity on top of danger.

The consumer-labor-industry-farmer-public health group alliance went to work and did its own research on how much money was needed. They found that instead of the Administration's estimate of \$17,326,000, actually an appropriation of \$19,212,000 was needed. The groups backed up their estimate with cost figures and detailed statistics.

They made their request public in a statement, which they called "an appeal to save the meat inspection program." The appeal minced no words.

"The meat inspection program is now in the greatest crisis of its half-century existence," the statement said.

"This federal service, which has earned the respect of every group in American life for its steadfast and effective protection of the consumer and livestock producers, is already unable to fulfill its job and is in danger of deteriorating further."

Signing the statement were the top officers of the American National Cattlemen's Association, the American

Meat Institute, the National Farmers Union, the National Grange, the National Independent Meat Packers Association, the U.S. Livestock Sanitary Association and the Western States Meat Packers Association, as well as the president and secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

The appeal was used as the basic document in the effort to win Congressional approval for more funds and to get the Administration to request a supplementary appropriation. Great efforts were made to put the statistics of need before Congressional committees and legislators. Home town support for the meat inspection appropriation campaign was sought. Newspaper publicity was developed.

In March it was agreed that President Lloyd would present the case jointly for the AMCBW and the AFL-CIO in order to show the House Agriculture Appropriations Committee how serious the situation was.

"Here we have a truly shocking situation," he told the Congressmen, "for while the number of plants for which meat inspection must be supplied has increased by 55 per cent (during the past fifteen years), the number of inspectors available to carry out the inspection has decreased 6 per cent.

"It is, therefore, hardly an exaggeration to conclude that meat inspection is in a terrible crisis, the worst in its fifty-one years of existence. Nor is it an exaggeration to say that the Meat Inspection Division has literally not been able to fulfill its job."

By June the efforts for increased meat inspection appropriations were proving successful. Congress approved the inadequate \$17,326,000 as the basic meat inspection appropriation—but not before the Secretary of Agriculture had announced a supplementary appropriation would come before Congress and the chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee had announced that the supplementary request would be considered "sympathetically."

And the Administration did send Congress a supplemental appropriation—a request for \$2,100,000. This would have given the Meat Inspection Division a fund of \$19,426,000 or even more money than the AMCBW and its allies had requested.

The organizations which had issued the first appeal now issued another appeal. Commenting on the supplemental request, they said:

"The appropriation of this amount would allow the hiring of some 350 badly needed inspectors. It would allow the Meat Inspection Division to make up for the unfortunate scrimping on manpower it has been increasingly forced to undertake.

"It would assure the meat-consuming public that they will get the full protection which the law promises them and which they have a right to expect. * * *

"The amount of this appropriation request is infinitesimal, compared to the budget as a whole, but its benefits to the American people will be immense."

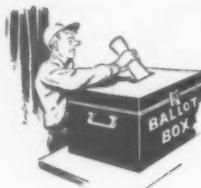
This appeal was followed with further work to call the attention of the legislators to the need for the additional funds and to seek their support for them.

And Congress did act. During the closing days of the 1958 session it appropriated another \$1,750,000. Congress did not vote the full \$2,100,000 because two months of the fiscal year had already passed.

The total of \$19,076,000 thus approved for the Meat Inspection Division is the largest sum ever made available for this protective work. It is nearly \$2,500,000 more than was appropriated in 1957. The increased funds will allow the Meat Inspection Division to hire more than 350 additional badly needed inspectors.

The meat inspection achievement was not the only consumer victory spearheaded by organized labor during 1958. Two others concerned the Poultry Inspection Law, the drive for whose enactment was led by our union between 1954 and 1957.

The Poultry Inspection Law is similar to the Meat Inspection Act. It is aimed at cutting down the extremely high rate of food poisoning cases due to poultry (one-third of all food poisoning cases reported to the



**your vote
is the one
that counts**

Public Health Service each year). And it is aimed at diminishing the high rate of injuries in poultry processing (second among all manufacturing industries).

Enactment of the law did not end the fight over it. Many Southeastern poultry processors, who had violently fought the legislation when it was pending, apparently still were not reconciled to it. At the insistence of this part of the industry, several Georgia legislators and a Utah Congressman introduced similar bills which would have severely impaired the effectiveness of the new law.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters pointed out to members of the Senate and House Agriculture Committees the serious consequences these amendments would have for the fledgling

inspection program. The amendments would have cut the heart out of the program before it even began.

The committees agreed with our analysis of the danger and refused to hold hearings on the bills. The proposals died. As a result, poultry inspection, which began on a partial basis on May 1 of this year, will go into full effect next January. At that time all poultry processed for shipment in interstate commerce must be inspected, just as meat is today.

For inspections to be carried out, sufficient appropriations must be available. Again labor took the lead. The AFL-CIO and the AMCBW gave strong support for an appropriation which would allow the new program to get fully under way and do its job in a thoroughly effective way.

Congress appropriated \$6,500,000. This amount is considered adequate by our union's experts to build a consumer- and workman-protective program to cut down the terrible food poisoning and industrial injury rates now attributable to poultry.

As a result of these successes, consumers can and probably will be complacent again about the purity of their foods. But the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen will not be complacent. We will continue to fight, as we have in the past, to make certain that the inspection programs in the industries in which our members work truly and effectively protect the consumers.

Our union considers this an important part of its responsibility to the public.

Labor Honors Bob Hope This Month

ON THE NIGHT of November 16 the eyes of the men and women of organized labor and the nation will be trained on Beverly Hills, California. The occasion: presentation of the 1958 Murray-Green Award for community service to comedian Bob Hope.

This will be the first time the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee has presented the award to a show business personality. Among past recipients of the medallion and \$5000 check have been Dr. Jonas Salk, Eleanor Roosevelt, General Omar N. Bradley and former Senator Herbert H. Lehman. The money goes to a worthy cause in the name of the award winner.

In announcing this year's award to Bob Hope, AFL-CIO President George Meany summed up the reasons for selection of the comedian. Mr. Meany cited Hope's "outstanding services to the welfare of the men and women of our armed forces" and added:

"Mr. Hope's readiness to perform wherever our men and women are stationed has lifted not only their morale but the spirit of all citizens."

Leo Perlis, director of AFL-CIO Community Service Activities, stressing the significance of the award, has stated that it annually calls attention to the growing importance the AFL-CIO attaches to its community service work throughout the country. He has noted that the nation's entertainment unions have pledged their all-out support in marking the first presentation of the Murray-Green Award to an entertainer.

Of the millions of miles and thousands of shows behind him, Bob Hope recently said:

"A lot of these kids come up and thank me for putting on a show for them. Isn't that ridiculous? I'm the one that's grateful to them for everything they've done,



The comedian with U.S. soldiers in Europe during World War II. He also performed in the Pacific.

and I just hope they've had as much fun watching me as I've had entertaining them."

Bob Hope has listened to the applause of enthusiastic audiences for many years. However, the applause he will hear on November 16 will be from the hands of the American labor movement and from the hearts of a grateful America.

—DON GREGORY.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Formation of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, an organization including Eleanor Roosevelt, Herbert H. Lehman and educational and religious leaders, has been announced by Dr. Frank P. Graham and A. Philip Randolph, co-chairmen. The latter, an AFL-CIO vice-president, heads the Sleeping Car Porters.

►The Plumbers have gained 3,000 new members in the refrigeration industry in the past year, the Colorado Springs convention of the Refrigeration and Airconditioning Contractors Association was told by John J. McCartin, assistant general president of the AFL-CIO affiliate.

►The first annual award of the National Council on Social Work Education is scheduled to be presented to Leo Perlis, director of AFL-CIO Community Service Activities, at a dinner to be held at the Hotel Plaza in New York City.

►Local 342, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, has won wage increases from the city government of Savannah, Ga. The local was assisted in negotiations by Charles S. Bennett, an international representative.



Paul L. Phillips, president, United Papermakers and Paperworkers, was one of a group of American leaders designated to go abroad to study the facilities and operations of Radio Free Europe in struggle for freedom.



AFL-CIO support for the American Labor Health Association was demonstrated when the united labor movement presented a check to help the ALHA carry out an expanded program of service in the health field. Left to right are Dr. Morris Brand, ALHA president; Nelson Cruikshank, director of the AFL-CIO's Social Security Department, and AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Bill Schnitzler.

►The American Bakery and Confectionery Workers has won a 4 to 1 victory over the expelled Bakery Union led by James G. Cross in a contest at the Hershey Chocolate Corporation, Hershey, Pa.

►Arthur J. Goldberg, AFL-CIO special counsel, has been appointed a one-man ethical practices committee by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

►Directly Affiliated Local 23983, representing Carrier Corporation employees in Syracuse, N. Y., has issued the first edition of its local newspaper.

►More than 700 members of Lodge 764, International Association of Machinists, have won wage increases of 6 per cent under a new one-year contract with Canadian Pacific Airlines. Maintenance, repair and service station employees are covered by the pact.

►William J. Ryan won reelection as president of the Railway Patrolmen's International Union at its recent Chicago convention. The delegates called for a campaign to obtain union shop contracts on all railroads. Thirty-four current contracts provide for the union shop.

►A last-minute settlement averted a strike of 1,300 members of Local 6, American Bakery and Confectionery Workers, in Philadelphia. The agreement raised wages 21 cents an hour. Philadelphia's six largest bakeries were involved in the situation.



In photo snapped at New Jersey State Fair are, from left, George Lynch, ABC Bakers, Local 84; Mrs. and Governor Robert B. Meyner, Harrison A. Williams, Jr., who is running for U.S. Senator, and Bruno Sorchinski, president, ABC Local 84.

AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Labor's Stake in Conservation

(Continued from Page 12)

The direct economic effects of conservation and development programs on labor are obvious. They are closely related to the good of the nation as a whole, and once again prove the general proposition that those programs which are in the national interest and beneficial and profitable to the nation as a whole will also be beneficial and profitable to those who work in our factories and stores, in our service trades and transportation industries.

The labor movement came into being not solely to increase the wages of its members. Years ago the working population of America suffered from poor housing, an inadequate diet and such long working hours that many never saw the light of the sun except through a dirty factory window.

The labor movement was started and continues today on a foundation of humanitarian principles. It seeks to bring to each worker rewards far beyond the economic.

It is not surprising, then, to find the labor movement joining battle against those who would lay waste to our forests and pollute our streams, who would withdraw from our natural treasury the resources which belong to the people for their recreation and personal development, who think of America's natural beauty and natural resources only in terms of possible personal profit.

American labor is becoming more and more concerned with conservation policies and programs which are essential to expand facilities for rest and for play.

The future holds for the American worker a substantial lowering of the hours of toil. The next ten years are certain to see a reduction in the standard workweek from forty hours to thirty-five or even thirty hours. This raises a question: For what purpose will this new leisure be used?

A hundred or even fifty years ago we would have been told that leisure is dangerous for the working man, that he would spend it in saloons, in brawls, even in criminal activity. A hundred years ago the shackles of poverty presented no opportunity to the worker. Today's relatively high standard of living has changed that.

The American worker of today is

mobile. He can travel long distances in the family car. He has the money to travel and to take advantage of other opportunities unknown long ago. Today's worker has paid vacations, as a result of union negotiations, and whole new vacation industries have been born as a result.

An increasing number of workers will use their new leisure to return to the forests and rivers and lakes for the rest and recreation that only nature can provide.

We must prepare for this. The nation must devote more attention and energy to the preservation and development of our natural playgrounds. We cannot waste away today what our children and grandchildren will find so necessary tomorrow.

Our parks and forests, lakes and rivers are already becoming overcrowded in many sections of the nation. Camping outdoors is becoming an increasingly popular sport, and on

many waterways the multiplicity of small pleasure boats has created traffic jams rivaling those on land.

In the years to come these problems will increase, because man will return to nature in increasing numbers. We cannot be caught short.

These interests of labor, the economic and the recreational, are consonant with the best interests of America as a whole.

Labor knows that its interests are in common with those of the farmer, the conservationist and all those who urge full and comprehensive development of our river basins, including the generation of electric power.

We are proud to be a part of the great movement which has already done so much—but which has so much yet to do. We shall do our part to reach the goals which Theodore Roosevelt so clearly and so vigorously advocated.

To say that America has not yet reached those goals is but to pay high tribute to men of great vision, understanding and leadership—men in whose footsteps we proudly follow.

Dethroning King Filibuster

(Continued from Page 17)

body. It has a right to be proud. And the people of America should be proud of this. Their rights have frequently been protected by the prolonged debates in the Senate. No democratically minded Americans want to take away this right of debate, so that the minority viewpoint can be fully stated and so that the country may be alerted to the full implications of proposed legislation. The right to speak openly, freely and at length should always be protected in any rules adopted by the Senate.

But the right to speak at length is abused when it is used to prevent action by the Senate. Once the views of a minority have been fully stated, the purposes of the full and fair debate have been fulfilled. The majority's will to act must not be defeated by the obstructionist tactics of the minority.

The AFL-CIO, at its merger convention and again at its second convention, called for majority rule in the United States Senate. President George Meany has declared:

"In order to assure that dilatory tactics will not be used to block the

enactment of civil rights legislation, Congress should amend its rules so that its will cannot be thwarted by a recalcitrant minority. In particular, Senate Rule 22 should be amended to permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate."

The next round in the fight to establish majority rule in the United States Senate takes place on the opening day of Congress. That means that work in support of the change must take place in the weeks before Congress convenes.

AFL-CIO state bodies and international unions are now engaged in soliciting support for a change in Rule 22 from incumbent Senators and candidates for election to the Senate. Religious, fraternal, civil rights and minority groups are working jointly through the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights to maximize support for what will be the first battle of the Eighty-sixth Congress.

Have you written to your Senators urging that they support a change in Rule 22? If you haven't, do it now. January will be too late.

Research Serves Labor

(Continued from Page 6)

or for complex engineering questions, research departments are often asked to prepare appropriate contract clauses.

Recent trends in collective bargaining call for more and more help from these trained technical assistants. Today's fringe benefits, safety clauses and other non-wage items in agreements extend to areas where expert advice may be needed. Some unions have staff members whose primary responsibilities include the study and negotiation of contract clauses on pension and insurance plans. Some technicians' principal job is study and evaluation of supplemental unemployment benefits and other unemployment insurance plans. Negotiations for health insurance provisions demand more than casual knowledge of a complicated proposal to assure maximum benefits for members.

Other recent developments indicate the need for an atomic energy expert in a union whose members work in atomic energy installations or in plants concerned with atomic energy.

These and other technicians help in contract negotiations. In large industrial enterprises employing thousands of workers, contracts have become highly technical. When a union asks for an increase, what part of the package is wages and what part fringe benefits? What are the cost factors? What is the cost of a pension program? What is wrong with present incentives and how do they affect wage rates? How many people have been affected by an automatic machine? How many will be? What safety standards must be used? Why is one insurance program more beneficial than another? These are the kinds of questions that research must help to answer.

Grievances and Arbitration

Satisfactory processing of grievances has as much importance to the members as the contract itself. Grievance proceedings sometimes require research assistance to support the union's position and refute management contentions. This is especially true when it becomes evident that a key grievance is headed for top-level negotiations or arbitration.

In arbitration, research functions include advice on selecting an arbi-

trator, analysis of cases, assistance in preparing or the actual preparation and presentation of briefs, comparative information on past practices, and compilations of previous arbitration decisions or briefs on comparable subjects.

In at least one union the research department has instructions to collect arbitration awards, analyze and classify them and write an opinion on each award for future reference.

Industrial Engineering

Time study, job evaluation and wage incentives are often presented with so many complex gimmicks that union technicians must help to analyze company methods, adjust on-the-job situations and prepare material for the staff and leadership to use in protecting workers' interests in regard to such company proposals.

The impact of automation is closely connected with this work, as jobs are reclassified after automated equipment is installed. Company experts' reports based on industrial engineering formulae demand competency in the techniques of that field for detailed analysis. Union engineers examine problems on the job, study grievances and help prepare for negotiations about these engineering determinations in some plants.

In one union, industrial engineers were utilized to consult with the negotiators to give advice concerning the effect of proposed wage incentive plans, to evaluate production standards and advise on setting rates. They also collected information for the purpose of developing standard data and helped train the membership so that the rank and file could deal with industrial engineering problems more effectively.

In another international, union technicians with company engineers set up a manual of job descriptions for the entire industry. This manual was revised as practical experience showed that changes were necessary. Stewards and union representatives were trained to use the system and to insure the effectiveness and fairness of its application on the job.

Organizing Assistance

Relative economic positions of companies or plants can be key factors in making decisions about locations for organizing drives. Union researchers analyze and report on comparative conditions in the industry. To aid organizing plans, research departments prepare surveys of companies, giving their location, product, size, organization, wages and benefits, the number of workers employed, past experience with organization and the community problems in the area.

Suggestions from researchers also help in presenting facts to encourage non-members to join the union. Wage scales, cost of living data, the economic gap between the member's

and the non-member's earnings, fringe benefits and other union gains may be outlined for use in organizing leaflets, for conferences on strategy and for discussions with prospective members. In some unions researchers lead sessions on economics in organizing conferences and appraise techniques

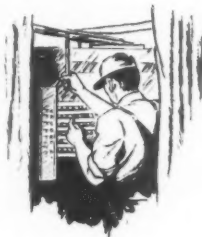
in organization, and in a limited number of unions research departments help to develop new philosophies and approaches to organizing.

Some research departments are the source of records on the extent of organizing, location of membership, relative strength of the union in non-union shops, changes in size of membership because of turnover and other factors—details that help organizers and leadership gauge the organizing situation more accurately.

Legislative Assistance

State and federal legislation affects the life of every union member as a citizen. Specific legislation may have a direct impact on his job or on the member's life at home or in his community. Union research departments work with legislative and legal staffs on the legislative programs of their organizations.

Memoranda on effects of pending legislation are set forth. Analyses of economic conditions in the industry may be needed for specific legislative proposals. Surveys of wage scales must be available for a hearing. This information is used both for determination of union policy and for pres-



entation of the union's position to appropriate committees. When certain laws are passed, summaries of the sections of interest to union members may be sent to locals or districts. Research staffs cooperate with other departments to provide the leadership with this type of assistance.

The necessary data may range from dates and titles to extensive analyses of national and industry trends. The scope may vary from a specific report on a labor-management situation to an international problem.

Some research departments prepare testimony for presentation to Congressional committees by union officers or legislative representatives. If the statements are technical, researchers may accompany officers to hearings and provide assistance during the questioning period. In many cases the research staff person himself presents the union point of view, particularly if economic or statistical arguments are the basis of the presentation.

Union researchers may be asked to present the union's viewpoint before legislative bodies on tax policy, wage-price-profit relationships or statistical programs. At state and federal hearings they may present the union position on such issues as workmen's compensation, minimum wage legislation, unemployment compensation and social security.

After legislation is adopted, in some cases, researchers prepare summaries of the provisions, explaining the application of the parts of the law affecting their union and clarifying some of the more technical aspects. Where administrative rulings follow the legislative enactment, a few research departments distribute up-to-date reports on decisions of interest to the union. In a few unions researchers participate in the hearings where administrative determinations will be made.

In some instances researchers serve as instructors on economic questions at legislative institutes conducted by their education or legislative departments. Such institutes review the effects of existing laws and the need for future legislative action.

Government Agencies

Research departments must use and analyze government statistics to carry out their function as union information centers. Through the AFL-CIO

Research Department, research directors participate in committees developed to carry on liaison with government agencies responsible for preparing these statistics.

Labor research advisory committees to the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of the Budget meet with the agency staffs to discuss statistics on wages, hours, working conditions, prices, productivity and other necessary information. They also discuss new projects and the possibility of providing the government with information from their respective unions.

Study of methods used in compiling statistics is very important to labor researchers both for the most effective employment of such data and with a view to seeking the many needed improvements in statistical intelligence.

Methods of determining employment and unemployment statistics, the factors making up cost-of-living estimates and the types of statistics gathered are reviewed with government statisticians. Research directors have tried to make certain that the needs of labor groups are given as much weight as the needs of business in the planning of government statistical programs. They have also supported requests of statistical bureaus for Congressional appropriations for necessary studies.

When the Labor Department prepares a productivity study on a given industry, the union's research department may review and criticize the draft, trying to make sure that the union's view of productivity is accurately represented and given proper consideration.

Research departments also seek, in some instances, to protect union members from unfair competition on wages, hours or other conditions because of government rulings under various laws.

These researchers meet with the Wage-Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor to review changes in the regulations on learners' rates under the Fair Labor Standards Act, to seek improvement in rates and to protest unfair issuance of learner certificates. Unions concerned with this problem find it necessary to keep records of firms receiving learner certificates as well as the duration of the certificate.

Researchers also work with the

Department of Labor on the Walsh-Healey and Bacon-Davis provisions concerning both rate setting and the administrative provisions covering government contract work.

Union economists serve on industry committees for Puerto Rico to review minimum wage rates there, suggesting improvements to protect the Puerto Rican workers and to keep their own membership from suffering unfair competition from substandard wages.

Liaison with the Department of Commerce and the Department of Labor is necessary for gathering information about import competition and tariff problems, as well as statistics on business and labor developments on the domestic scene.

Research departments of some unions check government procurement contract awards and bids, analyze them and report their effect on the affairs of the union and the industry.

The National Labor Relations Board takes up much of the time of some smaller unions' research departments. In large unions legal staffs prepare most of the NLRB briefs and consult the research department only for occasional economic and historical data. But in some smaller unions the research department helps in preparing Labor Board briefs and follows through on cases. In addition, a few research departments keep track of Board rulings and issue reports on the latest NLRB interpretations.

Training and Education

Union schools are practical forums, designed to meet membership needs. Students learn by doing, as formal classroom techniques are cast aside, by discussion methods more appropriate for democratic organizations.



At schools and education conferences, research staffs work in cooperation with the education departments of the unions. Labor economics, legislative programs, job evaluation, time and motion study, supplementary unemployment benefits may be topics for discussion. Technicians help prepare manuals and lead discussions on these subjects.

The technical material is presented informally. A time and motion study class takes up practical problems with real meaning for members who have faced similar experiences on the job. Labor economics is taught in terms of wages and fringes, as well as the effects of current contracts and the relation of the union to other parts of the economy. Legislative classes point up local as well as national implications of current proposals.

In the give-and-take of the discussions, stewards, business agents and rank-and-file members get the benefit of the technicians' experience and training. But, equally important, research staffs are able to get first-hand understanding of the members' views, their reactions and their approaches to current issues.

In unions where research and education staffs are combined, the director is responsible for setting up schools or conferences, planning the presentation of information, and making certain that material will be practical and useful.

In some unions, technical training is even less formalized. When explanations are requested the research department sends someone to review the problem. When face-to-face discussion is not possible, the researcher's educational influence depends entirely on his ability to put useful information on paper effectively and to adapt it to the specific situation.

General Economic Analyses

The American labor movement has always been concerned with improvements for the future as well as the present. Many research departments, therefore, spend a good bit of their time on extensive analyses of trends and conditions in industry and the economy. Projections and suggestions for future improvement, new

ideas for adjusting current imbalances, specific reports on possible approaches are the work of some research staffs.

For example, even before cost of living became a major factor in negotiations and the wages of millions of workers were tied to the fluctuation of the statistical index measuring changes in consumer prices, several unions prepared studies of such measures, their weaknesses and values and developed numerous suggestions for their improvement.

Even before automation became a reality, union research staffs tried to predict whether it would be a nightmare or a blessing and gave reasons for both possibilities.

During the shortages in wartime, researchers investigated the probable effect on their industry, a given company and their union, so that planning could minimize dislocations. War-time wage and salary stabilization required participation of competent union technicians who helped both to formulate the program and to assist in its administration.

For many years union technicians studied the possibilities of the guaranteed annual wage—long before the first step of supplemental unemployment benefits was negotiated.

When industry leaders boost prices and seek to blame labor for the increase, union research departments analyze the true relationship of wages, prices and profits, giving their unions solid counter-arguments.



Clem Preller Dies at 67

Clement F. Preller, president of the Greater Washington Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, died in Cleveland at the age of 67. He had been attending the convention of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Mr. Preller, who served as head of the old Washington Central Labor Union from 1946 to 1958, became president of the new central body following merger with the Washington Industrial Union Council.

In addition to his leadership of the labor movement in the nation's capital, Mr. Preller was business manager of Local 26 of the IBEW. A dedicated union man for more than forty years, he had held his position with Local 26 for three decades.

Public Discussions and Information

Union research staffs also take part in public forums—radio and TV programs, meetings of professional and other groups. Universities request research representatives to discuss labor's point of view with student groups at all levels.

Each year researchers participate in workshops all over the country sponsored by the Joint Council on Economic Education—a group whose purpose is to improve economic teaching in America's secondary schools. At these workshops elementary and high school teachers have a chance to ask questions about the labor movement and to get suggestions about improving their curricula for future teaching.

Conclusion

No single research department performs all the duties described here, but the composite of their activities testifies to the variety of contributions made by technical staffs to American labor unions.

As social and economic conditions change, research staffs will continue to adapt to new needs and challenges of the unions they serve. As unions face growing responsibilities as an important segment in a complex industrial society, union technicians will participate more in contributing the technical, analytical and advisory services required by their organizations to make the policy decisions necessary for the extension of the basic objectives of the trade union movement.



CLEMENT F. PRELLER

Mr. Preller played a prominent part in civic affairs in the District of Columbia. He was a labor member of the D.C. Unemployment Compensation Board and served on the D.C. Vocational and Rehabilitation Service as a labor representative.

The Glass and Ceramic Workers

(Continued from Page 15)

for its members in the Libbey-Owens-Ford plants with a display of strength. The first test came in 1936 when the union struck the plants of Pittsburgh Plate Glass and, soon after, those of Libbey-Owens-Ford.

The union asked both companies for an eight-cent hourly wage increase, the closed shop, a settlement of inter-company inequities and a formal system of joint bargaining with the two corporations. The union won its wage demands, won agreement on the issue of joint negotiations, but was forced to drop its union security demand. An agreement was also reached on a joint commission to study wage differentials between the two companies as a basis for future joint negotiations of basic wages.

In Little Glass the workers fared better. Besides the gains won at L-O-F and PPG, they were successful in gaining union security. In 1940 all wage inequities were eliminated and industrywide rates established.

As in the other mass production industries, the lid blew off in the glass industry after the end of the war. In the fall and winter of 1945 a thirteen-week industrywide strike occurred. The strike was successfully concluded, and in the settlement arbitration was established. Since then fairly stable relations have existed within the industry.

The negotiations in Big Glass must be viewed in relation to the steel and auto industries. The key plants of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company are located in the Pittsburgh steel area. Wages and working conditions of the glass workers have been directly influenced by the bargaining in the steel industry and particularly by the negotiations between the United Steelworkers of America and United States Steel.

The major plants of Libbey-Owens-Ford are located in the Detroit area, and the collective bargaining patterns established by negotiations between the United Auto Workers and General Motors have also vitally affected negotiations in glass.

Big Glass, though setting a pattern for Little Glass, has generally followed the patterns of steel and autos.



Convention platform shot comprises R. J. Thomas, Ralph Reiser, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler and UGC Secretary-Treasurer Lew McCracken.

The average wage established by the United Glass Workers in Big Glass is high. During the years of our organization we have brought wages from paltry low to the highest—and all along the employers said it was impossible to meet the demands of the union.

In 1934 the average wage was 35 cents an hour. We have brought it up to \$3.42 an hour in what is known as Big Glass. A supplementary unemployment benefit of 10 cents an hour accrues to the benefit of every employe who is a member of the union. Each employe has a cash reserve.

This plan was called unique in many circles. It was blessed by some and frowned upon by others. It is my belief that the earnings level has not yet hit its ceiling.

In sections of our union other than glass the wages have not progressed to such a degree as in glass. Nevertheless, they have come a long way, and working conditions in the plants have also improved substantially.

Many of the contracts in our organization provide pension plans. In Big Glass the pension plans approach the best. While there are some su-

perior ones in American industry, these pension plans, in our judgment, are far better than 90 per cent of the plans now in existence.

Our union has a bright future ahead of it. We believe in wage incentives drawn on a decent basis which will give a good return to the worker and a good return to the manufacturer, if arrived at on a negotiated, mutual basis.

The ceramic section of our union is centered mostly in the floor and wall tile industry.

In 1953 the United Glass and Ceramic Workers affiliated with the Canadian Labor Congress and a new district was established in Canada. Membership in Canada currently is close to 5,000.

We are proud of our members who are serving in AFL-CIO positions, namely, Irwin DeShetler, an assistant regional director of organization on the West Coast, and Gus Scholle, president of the Michigan State AFL-CIO.

The UGC is proud of being able to meet its quotas for COPE and to play its part in the activities of the AFL-CIO. It is determined to meet its obligations in the merged federation for a clean, strong labor movement.

Have you contributed
your dollar to COPE?

WHAT THEY SAY

William E. Proxmire, Senator from Wisconsin—The problems of our old



citizens are growing ever worse and worse. Inflation continues to cut the value of each dollar. More and more employers refuse to hire older workers. In addition,

the number of aged persons is rapidly increasing. There are already over 15,000,000 persons over sixty-five, and the number grows daily. Average life expectancy has increased from forty-seven years in 1900 to sixty-eight years today.

The advances in medical knowledge and health care which have provided us with longer life are a wonderful blessing. However, we have not kept pace with the problems created by the increase in our aged population.

The old people of our country need our aid. This is a very large group of Americans who are not highly organized. It remains for us to see that the old people of the country get the help they need.

William O. Douglas, Associate Justice, Supreme Court—Labor has



marched a long way down the corridors of history. In this country it had no sooner thrown off the chains of a chattel slavery than it seemed

destined to be held in a new industrial serfdom. That fate was avoided by the devoted efforts of two generations. From the days of Bryan and LaFollette the tide of liberalism ebbed and flowed, until at last under Franklin Roosevelt it gathered a mighty momentum and swept away the remaining threats of an industrial serfdom.

Collective bargaining was established and became the accepted practice and tradition. A host of laws designed to protect the worker were written on the books. Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness became

a part of the philosophy of factory management. Human rights — not property rights alone—became standards of industrial justice.

The nation's gains from the evolution that accompanied these reforms have been enormous. Although labor was the most obvious beneficiary of most of them, the victories were not narrow, class achievements. The gains in a true sense were classless gains.

They resulted in an increase in the standard of living that has vitalized the entire economy. They invigorated the whole body politic like a nutritious food in the bloodstream. They strengthened the industrial system by removing sources of weakness. They created in the factories of America, largely through the institution of collective bargaining, a wholesome and friendly atmosphere for workers.

Albert Whitehouse, director, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO



—American labor does not fight technological progress, but we have a right and a duty to question the uses of the machine and to examine the social and

economic implications of its use. And we have the right and the obligation to point out that social progress is not automatic and that the machine by itself guarantees nothing but a method of production.

When automation and the new technology were introduced, we were greeted with promises that automation—if left to the corporations—would bring about a wonderful new world in which our economic and social problems would be resolved with all the precision of an electronic computer.

The experts predicted that automation would create more jobs than it eliminated. Not too long ago we were told that automation was the answer to higher production and that higher production would automatically create higher living standards. We were told that any dislocations would be very temporary and unimportant.

They told us that automation would create skilled jobs by the tens of thousands and that the new technology would bring higher wages for those it displaced. They told us that the future called for brains in the factory, and they freely predicted an end to routine drudgery in the office.

We were promised that automation was the way to higher employment, to stable prices and to better living standards for all. Anybody who dared offer a word of caution was hit as a saboteur who would destroy the machines and as a flyspeck on the wheels of progress. It is time to review the performance and to point out that automation and other major technological change have failed to bring automatically those things promised so blithely.

A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters



—Let us not forget that the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court did not give give Negroes any new rights. It only served to give

sanction and recognition of the rights Negroes already possess with other citizens of the country—namely, their human and natural rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These rights are God-given and not man-made.

Since Negroes believe in the moral justification of their struggle for equality, freedom and justice, they must reject the doctrine of gradualism.

Because segregation, which is based upon the negation of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, degrades, demeans and demoralizes the dignity of the human personality, it is a sin, as pointed out by Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans, and a sin should not be gradually accepted or gradually rejected.

P. D. Dalby, retired member, Local 148, United Auto Workers, Long Beach, California—It is the duty of every working man and woman to work against the passage of so-called "right to work" laws. Talk it up at work, explain the ill effects of it, write letters to those you can't talk to and drive home the danger of these laws.